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ABSTRACT

A study exploring native English-speakers' and advanced Chinese English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) learners' beliefs about how a face-threatening speech act, refusal, should be expressed is reported. The two major research questions of the study were: how native speakers of English and Chinese English as a Foreign Language (EFL) differ in their estimations of what is pragmatically appropriate for refusal; and what patterns, characteristics, attitudes, or beliefs are embedded in the differences. Three types of data were gathered: naturally-occurring refusals in daily conversation; data from a discourse completion task; and information from a metapragmatic judgment task. Subjects for the latter two data types were 26 graduate students, native English speakers of English and non-native speakers of varying linguistic backgrounds. Results suggest that, asserting individuality and stressing the linguistic function of the speech act, the native speakers considered truthfulness, directness, clarity, and effectiveness as the most important, whereas valuing social interaction and solidarity, the ESL learners were more concerned about being direct, preserving face, and avoiding embarrassment. Differences are attributed to the high or low pragmatic context of the speech community, positive or negative face addressed, and the level at which communication occurred. Implications for ESL learning are noted. Contains 81 references. (MSE)

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ED 408 860

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND CHINESE METAPRAGMATICS IN REFUSAL

Hongyin Julie Chen

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Language Education
Indiana University

August 1996

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Hongyin Julie Chen

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To My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants.
(Sir Issac Newton, 1642-1727)

I thank all the giants in my life, who let me stand on their shoulders.

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ABSTRACT

Hongyin Julie Chen

Cross-Cultural Comparison of English and Chinese Metapragmatics in Refusal

In cross-linguistic communication and foreign language learning, differences in language use have been noted to be a factor for communication breakdown or pragmatic failure. The differences can be attributed to the ways in which people of a speech community customarily associate forms with meanings. This association could vary across languages and is related to the sociocultural beliefs and values of the speech community. The culture-specificity of language use is particularly evident in speech acts.

This study is a line of research exploring native English speakers' and advanced Chinese EFL learners' beliefs about how a face-threatening speech act, refusal, should be expressed. Among speech acts, refusal is particularly challenging for the Chinese EFL learners because of its double bind. On the one hand, refusal has to carry the linguistic function of conveying *no*; on the other hand, it is inevitably face-risking. Metapragmatically comparing how the native speakers and the EFL learners accomplish the function of the speech act while addressing its sociocultural constraints, the study investigates the groups' criteria for pragmatic appropriateness of refusal. The findings suggest that, asserting individuality and stressing the linguistic function of the speech act, the native speakers considered *truthfulness, directness, clarity* and *effectiveness* as the most important, whereas valuing social interaction and solidarity, the EFL learners were more concerned about being *indirect*, preserving *face*, and avoiding *embarrassment*. The differences can be attributed to (1) the high or low pragmatic context of the speech

community, (2) the positive or negative face addressed, and (3) the level at which communication occurs. These factors cause linguistic and cultural misunderstandings to occur. To avoid pragmatic failure, it is important that the learners recontextualize their sociocultural perspectives, by (1) having an ethnographer's mindset and taking an *emic* stand in viewing target language use with reference to the values and beliefs of the speech community, and (2) approaching their home speech community with an *etic* stand to reflect upon the pragmatics of their native language and to gain insights into why cross-cultural miscommunication would occur and how it can be avoided.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Hostess (to foreign visitor who has given her a small present):

"Oh, you really shouldn't have!"

Visitor (anxious and puzzled): "But I... Why not?"

(Riley, 1989, p. 236)

Culture of Language

What does it mean to learn a foreign language? Before we can answer this question, we need to ask first *What is a foreign language?* What makes a language foreign to a learner is not only the new lexicon and grammatical rules; it is also the different culture imbedded in the language. In learning a foreign language, one not only has to acquire the lexicon and grammar but also needs to understand how they can be used in a target-like manner; and the manner in which the target language functions may differ fundamentally from one's native language.

Until recently, studies in second/foreign language acquisition have focused mostly on the phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical levels, investigating how learners come to acquire the form of the language. More attention is now being paid to the cultural aspect of language learning, with the recognition that language, as an essential means of human communication, is highly cultural. Having learned the form of a language does not necessarily mean being able to use the language socioculturally appropriately. In foreign language learning, the target language is not a means of daily communication for the learner. In such a setting, acquiring the form of the language is not easy; using the language felicitously with conformance to its culture is far more difficult. A learner making grammatical mistakes is at most considered linguistically incompetent; cultural unsophistication in speaking a foreign language, however, can be taken quite personally.

Given the recognition of culture as an important aspect in foreign language learning, what is meant by the culture of a language and how to become culturally sophisticated in the target language are still vague ideas to most learners. Does knowing the culture of a language mean comprehending idioms, understanding colloquialisms, or using appropriate body languages? The vagueness of the definition for the culture of a language makes the goal of incorporating it in language learning even less attainable for the learner. Therefore, before discussing how the learner can be culturally sophisticated in speaking a foreign language, we need to discuss what is meant by the culture of a language.

The notion of *culture* encompasses numerous variables and can be defined in various ways. Goodenough (1964) defines culture as "whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves" (p. 36). In relation to language, *culture* can be viewed as the conventional ways in which the native speakers use the language or the implicit rules that govern appropriate language use. The rules of speaking vary from language to language. Also, since language is *used* by *people* for communication, the rules of a language are closely related to its (native) speakers. Given the rules' connection with language use and the speakers, the culture of a language can be viewed from the perspectives of pragmatics and ethnography.

Hymes (1974), the acknowledged "father" of the ethnographic study of linguistics, maintains that language should be described as the appropriate way of speaking as judged by the speech community in which the language is used (e.g., what to say under a certain situation; how a person shows deference, gets someone do to something, etc.) The way of speaking can vary substantially from one culture to another, even in the most fundamental manners. The learners, although they recognize the foreign form of the target language, often fail to understand the fact that the foreign form also functions in a foreign way. This way in which the language functions pertains to how the native speakers use the language and what they consider to be appropriate in language use. In this aspect, pragmatics and metapragmatics come into the picture.

Pragmatics and Metapragmatics

Pragmatics: Language in Action

Various disciplines (e.g. linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, etc.) have attempted to define and investigate the construct of pragmatics. *Pragma*, in Greek, suggests acting, action, or activity. Generally, pragmatics takes the viewpoint of the language users, especially of the choices they make, the sociocultural constraints they encounter in using the language, and the effects their language use has on the interlocutor. Fasold (1990) further defines pragmatics as the "study of the use of language in contexts to make inferences about meaning" (p. 119). One very important concept about pragmatics is language being *used*. The use suggests the culture embedded in the language and reflects the values and beliefs the language users hold. Because people of a speech community form conventions of language use, which are often characteristic and even idiosyncratic, pragmatics is thus culture- and language-specific. Therefore, in understanding how a language is used by its native speakers and for the learners to incorporate the cultural aspect into their language learning, it is important to study the pragmatics of the language.

Pragmatic Failure

The phenomena of pragmatic failure (Thomas, 1983) serve as strong evidence for the importance of pragmatics in foreign language learning. It has been observed that, although foreign language learners may come to know the (linguistic/grammatical) forms of the target language very well, they do not always understand the (pragmatic) functions and the meanings behind the forms. When there is a mismatch between the forms and the meanings, there is likely to be a discrepancy between what is literally said and what is pragmatically meant, and misunderstanding or pragmatic failure thus results. Pragmatic failure may not only hinder effective communication, it may also result in the misjudgment of a person in a cross-cultural interaction. When one speaks a foreign language fluently, he/she gives the impression of being a language *user* rather than a *learner*. Any pragmatic infelicity in his/her language use will not be taken as a learner's mistake (such as a grammatical error or a foreign accent) but will most likely be construed into his/her personality being undesirable, and this could happen without the person's knowing it. To make the matter worse, pragmatic failure is more likely to occur in the speech patterns of advanced foreign language learners, who, paradoxically, "have the rope to hang themselves with" (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987, p. 151) because their linguistic competence allows them to disclose their cultural unsophistication in the target language. This causes the frustration that, after having finally acquired the grammatical/lexical competence, the learners encounter pragmatic failure because of it. We cannot go so far as to claim that grammatical/lexical competence contributes to pragmatic failure; however, we cannot fail to be heedful about the detrimental effects of pragmatic failure on language learning and cross-cultural communication.

Metapragmatics: A Perspective

Given the understanding of the importance of pragmatics in language learning and communication, there is, however, one shortcoming in pragmatics. Pragmatically, we may observe *what* the native speakers say and *how* they say it under a given circumstance in achieving a certain purpose. Nonetheless, to prevent or correct pragmatic failure where it tends to occur, it is important that we also understand *why* the language is used in certain ways. This understanding is obtained by examining the underlying sociocultural rules, beliefs, and values the speakers draw on. Pragmatics does not lend itself to providing such insights as it only addresses the surface level of language use. As Mey (1993) points out,

> The questions that kept bothering the linguists . . . were . . . Why would people say a particular thing on a particular occasion? What are people trying to do with their language? How do people cooperate in conversation? More and more, it became apparent to these linguists that we cannot really say anything about the effects that language has, without going into some detail with regard to *what motivates people to use language, and when they consider their language use to be successful, when not* [italics added]. (p. 14)

To answer these questions, the phenomenon of language use should be investigated at a deeper level, by shifting the focus from pragmatics to *metapragmatics*. From one level *above* pragmatics, metapragmatics examines the implicit operational rules and the sociocultural patterns embedded in language use. If pragmatics is viewed as a construct, metapragmatics functions as a perspective through which we investigate the construct.

As a relatively new perspective in viewing language, metapragmatics is broadly understood as "reflection on the language users' use" (Mey, 1993, p. 182). Pragmatics only shows us what the speaker says to fulfill a certain function. Metapragmatics reveals *why* the speaker chooses certain linguistic forms to fulfill the pragmatic function and what the culture-specific criteria seem to be for the proper use of the language. As Kasper (1989) points out, metapragmatics investigates "the culture-specific values and weights of contextual factors, as well as the sociopragmatic values ascribed to alternative realization procedures . . . Situational assessments uncover informants' perceptions of context-*external* factors . . . . and context-*internal* factors . . ." (p. 50).

Consequently, at the metapragmatic level, the focus is not (only) the utterances in language use but the perspectives the speakers have when using the language. For this reason, metapragmatics lends itself better than pragmatics to the investigation of the culture of a language.

In relation to cognition and learning, the metapragmatic perspective focuses on the holistic comprehension of the belief system and thus is a better approach to help the learner understand the culture of the target language. The approach is in line with the schema theory (Rumelhart, 1980) and some schema studies which suggest the importance of culture specific background knowledge in learning (Stefensen, Joag-Dev, & Anderson, 1979).

The metapragmatic perspective also suggests an important concept regarding the cultural aspect of language learning. As aforementioned, we may view language learning in two aspects; one is the acquisition of the forms (at the phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical level), and the other is the comprehension of the functions (at the cultural and pragmatic level). A fundamental difference between these two aspects is that the learner accepts the forms of the language as the way they are and internalizes the lexicon and the phonological/grammatical rules as prescribed, but the cultural values or beliefs embedded in the pragmatics of the language should by no means be *forced* upon the learner. If we instruct the learner in only the formulaic, surface structure of pragmatics (e.g., what to say when carrying out a gratitude or apology), we are not allowing the learner the choice of expressing meanings in his/her own way according to his/her culture and beliefs. The distinction between linguistic/cultural imperialism and awareness-raising can be a subtle one. By presenting the learner the metapragmatic criteria, patterns, and beliefs, we mean to indicate to the learner the difference between the use of the foreign language and that of his/her native language. This understanding may be *added to* the learner's pragmatics repertoire instead of *replacing* the learner's own belief system.

Speech Acts

Given that metapragmatics takes the viewpoint of the language user, there are various directions one may take to approach the subject, either at the macro- or the micro-level (Mey 1993). Macropragmatics generally includes analyses of co-text, context, discourse, and conversation, whereas micropragmatics focuses on speech acts and related reference and implicature. Although arbitrarily divided into two levels, these aspects of pragmatic analyses are interrelated. Among the many ways to investigate pragmatics, speech acts are of significant importance. Speech acts (e.g. expressions of gratitude, apologies, refusals, requests, leave-taking, compliments, etc.) are considered as micropragmatics because they are "the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication" (Searle, 1969, p. 16). The concept of *speech* as an *act* originated from Austin's idea that "the uttering of the sentence is, or is part of, the doing of an action" (1962, p. 5), and speech acts are capable of bringing about a change in the existing state of affairs or causing an effect on the interlocutor.

Just as pragmatics is culturally embedded, the realization patterns and the appropriateness criteria of a speech act also vary across cultures. As basic functions of language, speech acts exist cross-linguistically. Consequently, learners tend not to pay attention to the different ways in which speech acts are carried out in the target language. As a result, they tend to transfer the realization patterns from their native language to the target language. Pragmatic failure thus results because of the learners' pragmatic ignorance. Being universally existent, functionally important, culturally diverse, and prone to pragmatic failure, speech acts are an important area in pragmatic research.

Refusal: A Face-Threatening Act

Some speech acts require a higher level of pragmatic competence than others because they tend to risk the interpersonal relationship of the speakers. These speech acts generally include (but are not limited to) complaints, requests, disapproval, disagreement, and refusal, which are often referred to as *face-threatening acts*. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), in communication and interaction, two aspects of people's feelings are involved with face. One is the desire of the individual "not to be imposed on," which is the "negative face," and the other, the "positive face," is the desire of the individual "to be liked and approved of." A face-threatening act tends to risk either the speaker's or the hearer's positive or negative face. In cross-linguistic or -cultural communication, people of different speech communities employ different language uses. When a face-threatening speech act is called for in such a situation, pragmatic failure is likely to occur.

Refusal, as a face-threatening act, has been known as a major cross-cultural "sticking point". In investigating the art of saying *no*, Takahashi and Beebe, who conducted several studies on refusal, point out that "the inability to say 'no' clearly and politely . . . has led many nonnative speakers to offend their interlocutors" (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987, p. 133). When a refusal is called for, certain indirectness is usually involved to reduce the risk of face. The degree and manifestation of the indirectness vary across languages and cultures. Language learners are at a great risk of offending their interlocutors when carrying out a refusal because the linguistic barrier that already exists is further complicated by the face-threatening nature of the speech act. In conveying a refusal, one contradicts the expectation of the interlocutor; therefore, a high level of pragmatic competence is called for to carry out a refusal felicitously. Such a competence is particularly difficult for the learners to achieve.

English Refusal and Chinese EFL Learners

There are a few reasons for studying the pragmatic competence of the English learning population in Taiwan.

First, the pragmatic competence of the Chinese learners of English does not measure up with their grammatical competence. Perhaps due to the nature of classroom-based instruction, it seems that the grammatical skills of the English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) learners are emphasized more than their pragmatic competence. Even advanced EFL learners at the college level in Taiwan (who have received at least 7 years of EFL instruction) often demonstrate pragmatic incompetence. Most of these learners, in varying degrees, will need to utilize their English training when they launch into their career or further their education in a English-speaking country. In either case, the learners become users of English; the language becomes functional and the speakers' pragmatic competence is thus challenged. The most common observation has been that, after years of English learning, the Chinese EFL learners/speakers are still incapable of *using* the language felicitously.

Secondly, in comparison with some speech acts (such as greetings and leave-taking, which are formulaic and routine in form and thus easier to perform), the speech act of refusal is very context-dependent. It involves more sociocultural variables, is more complicated in form, usually cannot be memorized as a routine, and thus is difficult to carry out.

Thirdly, refusal constitutes a challenging concept to the Chinese. The notion of face is prevalent and deeply rooted in the Chinese culture; people take great offense in any loss of face and efforts are always made to avoid face-risking situations. Although maintaining face when refusing is considered a universal phenomenon in interpersonal communication, how face is defined and how face work is done vary greatly across cultures. Nash (1983) points out that the Chinese and the Americans observe the face principle very differently. Failure to note such sociocultural differences may cause miscommunication or unpleasant feelings.

For the above reasons, refusal serves as a good focus for studying and raising the Chinese EFL learners' pragmatic awareness. Examining the differences in the English native speakers' and the Chinese EFL learners' metapragmatic patterns and beliefs in refusal will help the learners establish a schematic understanding of the speech act. It is also helpful for promoting their general awareness in the use of the target language.

Cross-Cultural Metapragmatic Comparison on Refusal

For at least three reasons, a metapragmatic comparison is appropriate for the purpose of raising awareness in language use.

The Hearer as the Judge

The first reason is related to the metapragmatic approach. In a cross-cultural interaction, how would one know if a speech act is felicitously carried out? For the most part, the *hearer,* the recipient of the speech act, is the one to judge whether it "sounds appropriate." The hearer, at the other end of the interlocution, perceives the effects that the speaker projects through the use of language. If the hearer feels offended by an utterance, certain misunderstanding or pragmatic failure must have resulted from the utterance. Therefore, the most direct way of discovering whether an utterance or statement is pragmatically appropriate is to obtain the hearer's reaction to it. This also reveals another strength of metapragmatics: it provides insights into the hearer's perspective, which is normally inaccessible. When an infelicitous speech act occurs in a real life situation, the hearer does not always react to it in an obvious manner. Therefore, the speaker not only has no knowledge that an offense has resulted but also is ignorant about what is considered inappropriate in his/her use of language. If the speaker sees what the pragmatic inappropriateness is and why it offends the hearer, he/she is more likely to prevent the pragmatic failure from reoccurring. It is true that we should not expect the hearer to be capable of articulating or enumerating, like a pragmatician, the metapragmatic rules that the speaker violates in an infelicitous speech act. However, the hearer is undoubtedly capable of judging how well-rounded a speech act is perceived to be. Given the implicitness of the metapragmatic norms in a speech community, the hearer's opinions are extremely helpful for discovering the criteria of pragmatic appropriateness in a language.

Shooting at the Metapragmatic Target

The second reason for employing the metapragmatic approach is that it helps in reducing the surface variables in the realization of a speech act. Just as people may argue, even within the same speech community, individuals differ in the ways they carry out refusals. Strong individual variation holds true if we look at only the surface structure (i.e.

the verbal utterances) of the refusals. If we examine what people *believe* is appropriate to say in a refusal situation, we are likely to discover the underlying patterns and perspectives common to the speakers of the speech community. Just like an intended target may sometimes be missed, individuals may deviate somewhat from the intended metapragmatic norm when they realize a speech act. These variations at the surface level may obscure the picture and present misleading information if a metapragmatic analysis is not incorporated.

Contrastive Analysis

The third reason for metapragmatic comparison is related to the strength of contrastive analysis as an approach for cross-cultural studies. Contrastive analysis is a general approach to the investigation of language, particularly in the areas of applied linguistics and language learning. In a contrastive analysis of two languages, the points of structural difference are identified so that they can be studied as areas of potential difficulty in language learning. Since pragmatic failure often results from the language use differences of the interlocutors, contrastive analysis suits the purpose of this study as it identifies the discrepancies between the native speakers' and the EFL learners' metapragmatic patterns. As a result, the learners can be informed of not only the native speakers' metapragmatic perceptions but also the areas where pragmatic failure is likely to occur.

Two Major Research Questions

In summary, the main purposes of this study are to raise the learners' awareness about language use and to promote cross-cultural communication. The focus is on investigating how sociocultural beliefs and values affect language use. The method is a metapragmatic comparison of English native speakers' and language learners' opinions about refusal.

Specifically, the two major research questions for this study are:

(1) How do native speakers of English and Chinese EFL learners differ in their metapragmatics of refusal? (i.e. How do they differ in their opinions on what is pragmatically appropriate for refusal?)

(2) What is indicated by the differences of the two populations' metapragmatics of refusal? (i.e. What patterns, characteristics, attitudes, or beliefs seem to be embedded in the differences?)

The subjects of this study are native speakers of English and Chinese EFL learners in Taiwan. The main instrument is a metapragmatic judgement questionnaire that elicits both quantitative and qualitative responses. The reliability was checked with the test/retest method, and the validity was established with an interview protocol. The development of the research method and the design of the instrument will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The next chapter is a literature review on the general construct and principles of pragmatics, the perspective of metapragmatics, speech act theories, and various data collection methods.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

> *A* (to fellow passenger on a long-distance coach): Ask the driver what time we get to Birmingham.
>
> *B* (to driver): Could you tell me when we get to Birmingham, please?
>
> *Driver*: Don't worry, love, it's a big place -- I don't think it's possible to miss it!
>
> Thomas (1983, p. 93)

(Meta)pragmatics concerns language use, and language use is for the purpose of communication. In this chapter, the discussion will begin with a broad scope, reviewing issues and concepts relevant to communication. The discussion will then continue with a more specific focus, on the constructs and principles that are closely related to this study. With this intended development for the discussion, the review in this chapter will be more theory based than individual study oriented.

Communicative Competence

Communication is based on the association of *forms* and *meanings*. A linguistic form can carry more than one meaning or function, and an intended meaning or function can be realized in more than one form. This phenomenon of multiple association can cause miscommunication when the form encoding the speaker's intention is decoded by the hearer into a different meaning. Such misunderstanding may occur between speakers of the same speech community or different language backgrounds.

However, when people are in the same speech community, in which they share the same culture of speaking, communication is much less problematic. In a speech community, people have common "rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (Hymes, 1972, p. 54). Within the speech community, people form conventions for form-and-meaning associations and rules or patterns for communication; in so doing, they develop their communicative competence within the speech community.

The term communicative competence was originally proposed by Hymes (1972) to refer to the ability of native speakers to use their language in ways that are not only linguistically accurate but also socially appropriate. Hymes' concept is in line with Goodenough's view. Goodenough (1964) states that "[language] consists of whatever it is one has to know in order to communicate with its speakers as adequately as they do with each other and in a manner which they will accept as corresponding to their own" (p. 36).

What Hymes and Goodenough seem to have in common is that knowing the forms of the language alone does not result in successful communication; the knowledge of how to employ the forms in order to function in an acceptable manner in the speech community is also important. To a foreign language learner, who attempts to acquire the language by learning the forms in an environment outside the speech community, his/her development of communicative competence may be hindered because of the lack of knowledge about how the forms carry sociocultural meanings. As Leech (1983) suggests, the construct of linguistics can be divided into "grammar" and "pragmatics". The former refers to the decontextualized formal system of language, while the latter alludes to the use of language in a goal-oriented speech situation in which the speaker uses language to produce a particular effect in the mind of the hearer. Similarly, Thomas (1983, p. 92) considers linguistic competence to be composed of two types of competencies: "grammatical competence", the abstract of decontextualized knowledge of intonation, phonology, syntax, semantics, etc., and "pragmatic competence", the ability to use language effectively in order to achieve a specific purpose and to understand language in context. What a foreign language learner often lacks is pragmatic competence, which does not necessarily develop with the acquisition of grammatical competence. As Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig point out, "linguistic and pragmatic competence develop differentially in nonnative speakers . . . . nonnative speakers, even those who are regarded as linguistically proficient, often do not know or follow the context-specific constraints" (1992, p. 93). Much research has been done on the development of the grammatical competence; the pragmatic aspect, however, has just started to gain attention in the past two decades.

Pragmatics

A Construct Viewed from Various Perspectives

From various perspectives, several disciplines have made contributions to the investigation of the construct of pragmatics. Among these disciplines are linguistics, philosophy, and anthropology/ethnography. As Leech and Thomas (1990) point out, pragmatics started out as a "fringe subject" on the borders of linguistics and philosophy and presently has a much broader concern with linguistic communication in the social and cultural context (p. 173).

Coming from a linguistic perspective, Charles Morris (1938) viewed pragmatics, semantics, and syntax as a triad of the construct of linguistics. Whereas syntax is the study of signs or expressions and semantics of signs in relation to their designata (what they refer to), pragmatics is the study of signs in relation to their users. As part of the triad, however, pragmatics does not gain as much attention as syntax or semantics does in the domain of linguistics. Pragmatics, introducing a "messy, unformalizable element" (such as the attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs of the symbol-user), is considered a "convenient waste-tip where one could dump (and frequently forget about) aspects of language and communication which were awkward, because they did not fit a nice neat world of syntactically well-formed sentences and their semantically well-behaved truth conditions" (Leech and Thomas, 1990, p. 174).

According to Leech and Thomas (1990), however, "pragmatics was born out of the abstractions of philosophy rather than of the descriptive needs of linguistics" (p. 174). In the philosophical tradition of pragmatic study, the focus is on understanding the nature of thought, logic, and communication as observed in how language conveys meaning. Austin, Searle, and Grice are probably the three most important philosophers since the development of pragmatics in the 1970s.

Austin's book *How to do Things with Words* (1962) has significant impact on the study of language and meaning. A major point Austin stressed is the performative nature of language; he maintained that, whether explicitly or implicitly, speakers perform an act through what they say. Searle, in his important book *Speech Acts: An Introduction to Philosophy of Language* (1969), refined Austin's concept and developed a speech act theory. The theory became the point of departure for subsequent studies on pragmatics. Grice shifted gears in the philosophic tradition of pragmatics and took a perspective somewhat different from that of Austin and Searle. Grice focussed on the gap caused by the difference between two types of meanings: the "explicit meaning" (i.e. what is said) and the "implicit meaning" (i.e. what is meant) (Grice, 1975). Whereas Austin's and Searle's views of pragmatics are about how *language* acts, Grice's perspective is about how *people* arrive at meanings, which is discussed in his cooperative principle.

Grice's perspective may be seen as somewhat overlapping with Hymes' ethnographic view on pragmatics; they both took human interaction into consideration in accounting for pragmatic phenomena. Hymes (1962, 1972, 1974a), recognized as the "father" of the ethnographic study of language, indicated that both linguists and anthropologists were ignoring the important area of human communication. Hymes noted that anthropologists had treated language as a subsidiary and only a means of getting at other aspects of culture and that even linguists themselves had been paying too much attention to describing and explaining the (grammatical) structures of sentences, ignoring how they were used by people. Therefore, Hymes suggested that language be studied in its sociocultural context. This framework is what Hymes (1962) referred to as the *ethnography of speaking*.

> [The ethnography of speaking answers the] question of what a child internalizes about speaking, beyond rules of grammar and a dictionary, while becoming a full-fledged member of its speech community. Or . . . [the] question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's verbal behavior in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities. The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right. (Hymes, 1962, p. 101)

This framework focuses on the perspectives, values, attitudes, and behaviors of the members in a speech community. Wolfson (1989a) also maintains that ethnomethodological analysis "uncover[s] speakers' unconscious cultural knowledge and the assumptions arising from it which lead to the way they interpret and react to their experiences" (p. 61).

Pragmatic Principles and Patterns

Several principles and patterns have emerged from various perspectives and disciplines in attempting to describe, generalize, or explain pragmatic phenomena. These principles and patterns have different bearings on pragmatics and address different aspects of the construct. The collective contributions of the principles and patterns are helpful in the definition, clarification, and understanding of the "messy, unformalizable elements" in pragmatics.

Grice's Cooperative Principle

In his cooperative principle, Grice (1975) maintains that people try to cooperate with each other when communicating, by intending to be informative, truthful, relevant, and clear. The hearer will normally assume that the speaker is following these criteria. Specifically, the cooperative principle is stated as "Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose of direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975, p. 47). The cooperative principle is elaborated in four maxims (Grice, 1975, p. 45-47):

> (1) The maxim of quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange; do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
>
> (2) The maxim of quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true. Do not say what you believe to be false; do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
>
> (3) The maxim of relation: Make your contribution relevant.
>
> (4) The maxim of manner: Be perspicuous. Avoid obscurity, avoid ambiguity, be brief, and be orderly.

Grice also indicates that the speaker may "opt out" of the cooperative principle by, for example, withholding information as a means to get the hearer to look for an implied meaning, or a *conversational implicature*. Grice distinguishes *conversational implicature* from *conventional implicature*. The former is to be calculated in the specific context of a given conversation, whereas the latter is formed by convention of language use and is thus automatic and routine. Both types of implicature, as Mey suggests, are culture-specific (1993, p. 105).

Speech Situation/Event/Act and SPEAKING

In analyzing and categorizing patterns of speaking, Hymes sees a taxonomy that is composed of a speech situation, a speech event, and a speech act. According to Hymes (1974b, p. 51), a *speech situation* includes contexts such as meals, ceremonies, fights, hunts, etc. Generally, speech situations, as settings, are not governed by specific rules for conducting speech. A *speech event* (e.g., a private conversation, a classroom lecture, a political debate, etc.), however, refers to specific speech activities and are "directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech." "A speech event may consist of a single speech act, but will often comprise several" (Hymes, 1974b, p. 52). A *speech act* "is the minimal term of the set" (Hymes, 1974b, p. 52), which is to be distinguished from the sentence and is not to be identified with any unit at any level of grammar in that, for instance, "a sentence interrogative in form may be now a request, now a command, now a statement; a request may be manifested by a sentence that is now interrogative, now declarative, now imperative in form; and one and the same sentence may be taken as a promise or a threat, depending on the norm of interpretation applied to it" (Hymes 1974b, p. 52-53).

Hymes also suggests that communication can be understood by components of eight groups, which he acronymed as SPEAKING (1972, p. 59-65). "S" stands for "situation", including the setting and the scene. "P" stands for "participants", including speaker/sender of a message, addressor, and addressee. "E" stands for "ends" (i.e. purposes, outcomes, or goals), which are what the speaker intends to accomplish. "A" stands for "act sequence" (e.g. message form and content), which is what is said and its form. "K" stands for "keys" (e.g. serious, joking, sarcastic, play, etc.), which is the manner or spirit in which something is said. "I" stands for "instrumentalities" (including channels and forms of speech), which are means or agencies of communication. "N" stands for "norms" of interaction and interpretation. And "G" stands for "genres" (e.g. poems, curses, prayers, jokes, proverbs, commercials, etc.), which are categories of communication. Although it is not to be assumed that all of these components will be relevant to communication of any type, they do provide a comprehensive picture of possible variables that may be held constant or investigated for analyzing speech communication.

Politeness Principle and Face

In defining the phenomena of politeness, Leech (1983) considers it as a surface-level adherence to social norms. To Tannen (1986), politeness is "the broad concept of the social goals we serve when we talk . . . trying to take into account the effect of what we say on other people" (p. 21). Lakoff (1973) specified the rules of being polite as (1) don't impose; keep your distance; (2) give options; let the other person have a say; and (3) be friendly; maintain camaraderie.

The most significant contribution to the politeness phenomena in conversational communication is Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness principle. They propose that politeness phenomena are associated with the notion of face, which consists of two components, the *positive face*, and the *negative face*. The former is the image that one wishes for others to be recognized and appreciated and the desire that his/her wants be desirable to others. The latter is the need for personal space and privacy, the desire to be free from interruption and imposition, and is related to one's rights as an individual. An attempt to maintain the positive face is called positive politeness, and an effort to maintain the negative face is called negative politeness. It is universally common that people maintain each other's positive and negative face in order to get along in a society. However, how the positive and the negative aspects of face are maintained and balanced is a cultural issue. It is also a source of many cross-cultural misunderstandings.

Mitigating risk to face is an alternative to face maintenance. According to Brown and Levinson, the degree of mitigation required depends on a few factors: social distance, relative power, size of imposition, rights and obligation, and the negotiation within the interaction of these factors. By this principle, the more socially distant two persons are the more face work may be called for; the greater the degree of risk to face, the more constrained the options for mitigation are.

The politeness principle also serves as an account for instances in which people seem to deliberately deviate from Grice's cooperative principle. "One powerful and pervasive motive for not talking maxim-wise is the desire to give some attention to face" (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 100). For instance, by being indirect, the speaker violates a maxim of manner, "avoid ambiguity", and in exchange saves either his/her or the hearer's positive or negative face; opting out of another maxim of manner, "be brief", the speaker chooses to elaborate on the reason why he/she has to turn down a friend's dinner invitation so as to save both the friend's and his/her faces.

The Bulge Theory

Wolfson sees a pattern of interpersonal dynamics different from Brown and Levinson's observation, posing a challenge to their politeness principle. Brown and Levinson's observation is that the degree of politeness increases in a linear fashion with the increase of the perceived social distance and power between the interlocutors. On the other hand, Wolfson (1986, 1988, 1989a) maintains that, at least among middle class Americans, the speech behavior people use when talking with their intimates, status unequals, and strangers differ significantly from the speech behavior used when they talk with nonintimates, status-equal friends, co-workers, and acquaintances. In other words, very similar speech behaviors are observed in the two extremes (i.e. the minimum and the maximum) of social distance scale, whereas relationships that fall in the middle of the scale have marked differences. Wolfson termed this pattern the Bulge because the frequency distributions of certain types of speech behavior appear to bulge on a chart at the center of the social distance scale. In accounting for this observation, Wolfson maintains that the relationships that are at the extremes of the social distance scale are relatively certain and thus people know what to expect of one another. On the other hand, the relationships that fall in the middle of the scale are less fixed and unclearly defined and thus people take more care in their speech behavior to maintain a positive relationship or reduce potential risk.

Wolfson's Bulge theory finds supporting evidences in many studies, of which

Beebe and Cummings's (1985) study on refusal is a strong one. Beebe and Cummings maintain that, in refusing, "strangers are brief. If they want to say 'no,' they do so. Real intimates are also brief. It is friends and other acquaintances who are most likely to get involved in long negotiations with multiple repetitions, extensive elaborations, and a wide variety of semantic formulas" (Beebe & Cummings, 1985, p. 4).

Unlike the cooperative principle, which basically patterns how the speaker uses the language, both the politeness principle and the Bulge theory (although they differ on how social distance affects speech behaviors) recognize the hearer as a variable, taking into account *to whom* the speaker uses the language. Bringing the hearer into the picture is an important step in the development of pragmatic theories as speech *interactions* are reciprocal and the hearer, while being receptive, can also be reactive and responsive (to pragmatic appropriateness) in many ways. As Leech and Thomas (1990) suggest, "Pragmatic force . . . could no longer be thought of as *given*, but as something to be negotiated through interaction. Attention has thus switched from the rule-governed approaches . . . towards the development of models which are capable of handling the complexities of naturally-occurring language in a more adequate manner" (p. 195).

Given the many pragmatic principles and patters that have been observed and their contributions in delineating the construct of pragmatics, it has also been noted that there exists indeterminacy of meaning and that ambivalence is actually part of the nature of pragmatics. Ambivalence allows for misunderstanding, and misunderstanding reflects pragmatic failure.

Pragmatic Failure

The pragmatic principles and patterns discussed in the above section attempt to understand the construct of pragmatics from the positive side, by examining how it *functions*. Another aspect for understanding the construct is through the investigation of the situations where *malfunctions* occur. Malfunctions suggest *pragmatic failure*. This "negative" aspect is helpful in uncovering areas and factors in pragmatics that are important but often ignored, until they "act up."

Before we discuss pragmatic failure, we need to have a detailed definition for pragmatic *competence*. According to Canale,

> Pragmatic competence is . . . concerned with the relationships between utterances and the acts of functions that the speakers intend to perform through these utterances . . . and the characteristics of the context of language use that determine the appropriateness of utterances. The notion of pragmatic competence . . . thus includes illocutionary competence, or the knowledge of the pragmatic conventions of performing acceptable language functions, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the sociolinguistic conventions for performing language functions appropriately in a given context. (Canale, 1988, p. 90)

Pragmatic failure occurs when one lacks either illocutionary competence or sociolinguistic competence. Thomas (1983), who is cited very frequently in discussions of pragmatics, argues that pragmatic failure should not be termed as pragmatic "error" as many other authors do (e.g., House and Kasper, 1981; Rintell, 1979). Although it is possible to err grammatically by violating prescriptive grammatical rules, "the nature of pragmatic ambivalence is such that it is not possible to say that the pragmatic force of an utterance is 'wrong'. All we can say is that it failed to achieve the speaker's goal" (p. 94).

Thomas maintains that, for an utterance to be pragmatically successful, two types of judgement are involved: pragmalinguistic judgement and sociopragmatic judgement. The former refers to the "basically grammatical . . . assessment of the pragmatic force of a linguistic token" and the latter is "[the] judgement concerning the size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance, and relative rights and obligation" (p. 103). When these judgements are not exerted, Thomas says, two types of pragmatic failure may occur: pragmalinguistic failure and sociopragmatic failure.

Pragmalinguistic failure results when language learners translate an utterance from their native language into the target language but fail to get their meaning across because the communicative conventions behind the utterances are different. An example Wolfson (1989a, p. 16) gave to illustrate pragmalinguistic failure is an English indirect request such as "Can you pass the salt?" or "Why don't you close the window?" which, to native speakers of English is not a request for information but for action. However, when a native speaker of English learning Russian translates such an indirect request literally into the target language, the native speakers of Russian will most likely understand the utterance not as a request but as a question, according to the pragmalinguistic convention of Russian.

The other type of pragmatic failure, sociopragmatic failure, is related to the knowledge of what to say and whom to say it to, which differs by complicated factors such as the size of imposition, tabus, cross-culturally different assessments of relative power or social distance, and value judgements. Another example Wolfson (1989a) provided illustrates this type of pragmatic failure:

> Japanese students and immigrants living in the United States, for example, report that they find it strange and rather offensive when Americans extend an invitation to a social gathering by indicating when and where it will take place and then adding some sort of phrase like "Come if you want to." Since Japanese rules of speaking require that a potential guest be urged to accept an invitation, while American rules impose a constraint on pinning people down to accepting possibly unwanted invitations, and since neither group is likely to be aware of the other's rules, it is difficult to avoid misunderstanding. (p. 17)

Thomas (1983) maintains that "while pragmalinguistic failure is basically a linguistic problem, caused by differences in the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force, sociopragmatic failure stems from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behavior" (p. 99). Misunderstanding caused by sociopragmatic failure is far more detrimental than that caused by pragmalinguistic failure as sociopragmatic failure may go so far as to result in inaccurate (and often negative) stereotyping, such as "the insincere American" or "the imposing Japanese". Therefore, especially in reference to foreign language learning, Thomas is more concerned with sociopragmatic failure as pragmalinguistic failure is fairly easy to overcome, by learning conventionalized usage as "part of the grammar". Sociopragmatic failure, however, is more problematic as it involves the learners' beliefs. Thomas thus emphasizes the importance of raising learners' metapragmatic awareness to reduce (socio)pragmatic failure (p. 91).

Metapragmatics

Related to the above point Thomas made about metapragmatic awareness is her view that pragmatics embeds one's knowledge of, and beliefs about, language and the world (Thomas, 1983, p. 99). By looking into metapragmatics, we may reveal the underlying knowledge and beliefs the speaker has about (the) language and the world, so as to better understand the rationale or motivation of his/her speech behavior or the culture of which he/she is a member.

However, as a method, a construct, or a perspective, metapragmatics has definitions and references that are even vaguer and more diverse than pragmatics. Few language theorists have incorporated metapragmatics (however it may be defined) into their discussions. Mey (1993, p. 272) discovered that the term "metapragmatics" was not mentioned in any of the three major works on pragmatics that have appeared during the past fifteen to twenty years: Gazdar's *Pragmatics* (1979), Levinson's *Pragmatics* (1983), and Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983). In attempting to define this very new term (and the notion behind it), Mey (1993) suggests that metapragmatics be broadly understood as reflections on the language users' use (p. 182). A more detailed definition he gives is that

> the prefix *meta-* . . . indicate[s] a shift of "level": from that of talking about an object to that of discussing the talk itself. . . . A "metalanguage" thus is a language that comments on, examines, criticizes, etc. what happens on the level of language itself . . . . we can say that the metapragmatic level is where we discuss theoretical issues in pragmatics having to do with pragmatics itself: a pragmatic discussion on pragmatics. (Mey, 1993, p. 269-270)

Regarding how metapragmatics come into play, Mey (1993) proposed that "pragmatics, by itself, cannot explain or motivate its principles and maxims" (p. 270); metapragmatic conditions of language use, instead, reflect the societal state of human meanings as expressed in the pragmatic constraints on language (p. 283).

In reviewing the evolvement of pragmatics, it seems that some authors, although they did not give specific definitions to the term, did allude to the importance of what would be metapragmatics, as a concept or a tool. For instance, it has to be a metapragmatic perspective that Hymes implied when he argued for the necessity of describing the native speaker's internalized knowledge about how to use the resources of his/her language and the need to identify the rules, patterns, purposes, and consequences of language use (Hymes, 1974b, p. 75). Kasper (1989) also stresses the potential of metapragmatic judgements in uncovering the culture-specific values, weights of contextual factors, and speakers' perceptions (p. 50). In a similar vein, Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993) see in metapragmatics the ability of speakers to formulate explicit rules of speaking (p. 216). This last argument also introduces the controversial issue of how reliable the speaker's intuition can be and how much trust we can have in metapragmatic judgement.

Speakers' Intuition

Wolfson (1989a) maintains that (meta)pragmatic knowledge is mostly unconscious. Native speakers are undoubtedly capable of judging the correctness and appropriateness of the speech behavior of their interlocutors and can recognize the deviation when a pragmatic rule is violated. They, however, are not aware of the patterned nature of their own speech behavior and are not able to describe their own rules of speaking. By citing several types of evidence, Wolfson claims that speakers do not have reliable information concerning the ways in which they use language; for instance, people who are bilingual or bidialectal may switch from one language or dialect to another without being aware of it and cannot accurately report their use of these languages or dialects (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

Schmidt (1993), on the other hand, argues against Wolfson's (1989a) position regarding the fallibility of native speakers' intuition about language use. Schmidt maintains that (meta)pragmatic knowledge is at least partly conscious and partly accessible to consciousness and that language is not always used automatically and unreflectively. Schmidt cited several authors to support his claim: Odlin (1986), for instance, suggests that linguistic forms that are important for communicative competence are, in general, highly salient and accessible to awareness; Ochs (1979) also suggests that people do not always use language automatically or unreflectively, and communications can vary greatly in terms of spontaneity and planning; Kendall (1981) even enumerates instances in which speakers use the language consciously. For instance, people may preplan (important) telephone conversations; writing involves a great deal of conscious deliberation and choices in discourse organization; there are also occasions in which people give particular care to make sure the language they produce is appropriate and polite; and students may be conscious about how to address professors (Kendall, 1981 as reported in Schmidt 1993).

Blum-Kulka and Sheffer's (1993) argument is in line with Schmidt's. Actually, Blum-Kulka and Sheffer even go so far as to claim that metapragmatic knowledge is implicitly there for native speakers to draw on, although more retrievable to some people than to others. Blum-Kulka and Sheffer maintain that, although native speakers seem to vary in their ability to formulate rules explicitly, they show high levels of agreement in judging the appropriateness of a specific request variant in a given situation (Olshtain &

Blum-Kulka, 1985) or producing culturally determined request variants for the same situation (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989). Blum-Kulka and Sheffer thus claim that such results confirm "the cross-culturally varied systematicity of pragmatic systems and the degree to which the knowledge of such rules is implicitly there for native speakers to draw on" (p. 217). They also indicate that it is the job of the researcher, the pragmatician, or the sociolinguist to help exploring the implicit knowledge of language use that is inherent in the speaker.

Metapragmatic Judgement

Given the above claims about the existence of the knowledge of appropriate language use (disregarding the controversy on its degree of retrievability or explicitness), metapragmatic judgement serves as a tool in uncovering the sociocultural rules in the speaker's communicative competence. Metapragmatic judgement also has a great value in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies, as Olshtain and Blum-Kulka point out:

> A [metapragmatic] judgement test can help establish degrees of equivalence between two or more languages both at the sociocultural and pragmalinguistic levels. The responses on the judgement test point to the frequency of usage of a range of variants as related to social constraints, enabling us to discover the preferences that native speakers of different languages have across socially varied situations. (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1984, p. 244)

Given that metapragmatics is a new domain in pragmatics and is still in need of a more commonly agreed-upon definition, it is not surprising to find very few studies that employed a metapragmatic judgement test. For those few studies, the format of the judgement test also varies according to the specific purposes of the studies. One example of a metapragmatic judgement test, conducted by Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984), is what they call an "acceptability study". The test consists of four request and four apology situations. Each item includes a description of the situation and six phrases of the request or apology in question, representing (1) formal, polite variants of the request or apology, (2) informal, intimate-language variants, and (3) direct, blunt variants. The respondents were asked to rate each of the six phrases on an appropriateness scale of 1 to 3. However, there were no open-ended questions to elicit the respondents' opinions on the phrases or the reasons for their ratings, which would have provided more insights into the respondents' criteria for appropriateness judgement.

A metapragmatic judgement test, like most research instruments, has limitations. Kasper and Dahl (1991) suggest that, in interpreting metapragmatic judgement data, one has to take into consideration factors such as the respondents' subjective understanding of the task and their mental elaboration of the content and the context, which may be different from what is intended to be understood. It is, thus, very important for the researcher to be cautious with the design and the administration of the test, the interpretation of the data, and the generalizations made from the findings.

Until this point, the discussion in this chapter has been on the broad scope of pragmatics. As suggested earlier, there is one area in pragmatics that has attracted much attention, as it is not only significant as theories but also important to language learning. This area has to do with the central meaning of the construct of pragmatics: language in use and speech in action.

Speech Acts

The development of speech act theories may be considered to have originated from Austin's (1962) idea that language is performative; whether explicitly or implicitly, speakers perform an act through what they say.

Specifically, Austin maintains that there exist three kinds of acts for an utterance: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act. A locutionary act is an expression with a particular sense and reference. By using certain verbs (such as promise, apologize, warn, announce, bet, beg, congratulate, etc., which Austin refers to as "performatives"), the speaker performs an act. For example, by saying "I promise to be there," the speaker explicitly makes a promise. Actions such as this, however, do not have to be made with the presence of performatives. For instance, by stating "I will be there," without the verb *promise*, the speaker still makes some kind of a promise (although in a different force), implicitly. The implicit act performed by the utterance is an illocutionary act. The third type of acts, perlocutionary act, is performed by means of what is said to bring about an effect on the hearer. It includes utterances which, for example, frighten, persuade, insult, ridicule, etc. Of the three types of acts, it is the illocutionary act that Austin focused on and from which speech act theories derived.

Speech Act Categories and Felicity Conditions

Based on Austin's concept of speech being performative, Searle (1969, 1979) made a major contribution to speech act theories. Attempting to capture all the possible functions of language, Searle divided speech acts into five categories: (1) *assertives*, which commit the speaker to the truth of some proposition (e.g. stating, claiming, reporting, announcing, etc.), (2) *directives*, which count as attempts to bring about some effect through the action of the hearer (e.g. ordering, requesting, demanding, begging, etc.), (3) *commissives*, which commit the speaker to some future action (e.g. promising, offering, swearing to do something, etc.), (4) *expressives*, which count as expressions of some psychological state (e.g. thanking, apologizing, congratulating, etc.), and (5) *declarations*, which bring about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality (e.g. naming a ship, resigning, sentencing, dismissing, excommunicating, christening, etc.)

Searle specified four conditions that are required for speech acts to be felicitous. These felicity conditions are: (1) *propositional content* rules, which specify the kind of meaning expressed by the propositional part of an utterance (e.g., a promise necessarily refers to some future act by the speaker), (2) *preparatory* rules, which specify conditions that are prerequisites to the performance of the speech act (e.g., for an act of thanking, the speaker must be aware that the hearer has done something of benefit to the speaker), (3) *sincerity* rules, which specify the conditions required for the speech act to be performed sincerely (e.g., for an apology to be sincere, the speaker must be sorry for what has been done,) and (4) *essential* rules, which specify what the speech act must conventionally 'count as' (e.g., the essential rule of a warning is that it counts as an undertaking that some future event is not in the addressee's interest) (Searle, 1969 as cited in Leech & Thomas, 1990, p. 177).

Although some authors claim that speech acts operate by principles that are universal, others emphasize the cultural and linguistic variation in the conceptualization and realization of speech acts. In the late 1970s, researchers became interested in testing speech act theories in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic settings, investigating how nonnative speakers' speech acts may differ from native speakers' and what can be inferred from the differences.

Cross-Cultural Speech Act Studies

A group of international researchers have conducted a series of cross-cultural speech act studies. This group, initiated in 1982 and called the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), made the first major attempt to study speech acts across a range of languages and cultures, on native and nonnative speakers, to investigate whether there are universal principles in speech act realization and what the patterns may be. Using a Discourse Completion Task, they collected native and nonnative written speech act data in Danish, American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian French, German, Hebrew, and Argentinean Spanish. The speech acts they focused on were requests and apologies. For the speech act of requests, the findings suggest that all the languages surveyed prefer conventionally indirect request strategies, and this in turn suggests such strategies to be a universal category for the speech act of requests; however, a few nonconventionally indirect requests were also observed (Blum-Kulka, 1989). Regarding apologies, their findings indicate the cross-linguistic similarity of expressing an overt apology by employing illocutionary force in the speech act and assuming responsibility for the offense (Olshtain, 1989). The general observation is that "on the one hand the phenomena captured . . . are validated by the observed data, and thus might be regarded as potential candidates for universality; on the other hand, the cross-linguistic comparative analysis of the distribution of realization patterns, relative to the same social constraints, reveals rich cross-cultural variability" (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984, p. 210). Such findings, although inconclusive, disclose the complexity of the issues regarding universality and language-specificity in speech acts.

Refusals

Similar to the CCSARP project, a series of studies have been conducted by Beebe and her colleagues on the speech act of refusal. As suggested in Chapter One, refusal is a speech act of many interesting features: it is face-threatening and complicated in nature, is known as a "sticking point" in cross-cultural communication, and demands a very high level of pragmatic competence for successful performance. As Beebe et al. (1990) point out,

> Refusals . . . reflect fundamental cultural values . . . (and) involve delicate interpersonal negotiation. Refusals, in that they involve telling a listener something he or she does not want to hear, require the speaker to build support and help the listener avoid embarrassment. They require a high level of pragmatic competence. (p. 68)

Most studies on refusals were conducted by Beebe & colleagues (Beebe & Cummings, 1985; Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990; Takahashi & Beebe, 1986, 1987). In their 1990 and 1987 studies, Beebe and colleagues investigated refusals by Japanese learners of English. They described four types of situations (i.e. requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions) in which refusals are called for. These situations varied according to the hearer's status (i.e. equal, higher, or lower). The findings generally suggest that the learners transferred their native refusal patterns into the target language, and the transfer was evidenced in the type, order and frequency of the semantic formulae they used. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) also found that pragmatic transfer (as found in refusals) was pervasive, not limited to any specific level of foreign/second language learning. However, more advanced learners tended to make more transfer because "their fluency gave them 'the rope to hang themselves with'" (p. 152), allowing them to express notions in their native way while speaking English.

In analyzing their refusal data, Beebe et al. (1990) also developed a taxonomy to classify refusals. They categorized refusals as two types: direct and indirect. Direct refusals include phrases such as "I refuse" or "no". In the category of indirect refusals, three major strategies were frequently found to be used by native speakers of English to begin a refusal. These three strategies include (1) an expression of positive opinion (e.g., "I'd like to"), (2) an expression of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry"), and (3) an excuse, reason, or explanation. Other indirect refusal strategies include a statement expressing a wish to be able to comply with the request, the statement of an alternative (e.g., "Why don't you ask someone else"), a condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier . . ."), a promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time"), a statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends"), a statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful"), an attempt to dissuade the interlocutor, a criticism of the request, a request for empathy, a statement letting the interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "It's OK"), self-defense (e.g., "I'm doing my best"), an unspecific or indefinite reply, a display of lack of enthusiasm, and verbal or nonverbal avoidance such as silence or a topic switch (Beebe et al. 1985). This taxonomy of refusal strategies provides insights into the many different ways a refusal may be phrased.

Similar to the taxonomy of refusal strategies are what Rubin (1983) proposed as ways of expressing *no* across cultures. To Rubin, refusal expressions, diverse as they seem, are only the first of the three levels of understanding refusals (or any other speech act) across cultures. Specifically, Rubin suggests that, in order for a nonnative speaker to tell when a native speaker is saying *no*, three kinds of understanding are required: (1) form-function relationship (i.e. expressions that may indicate *no* across cultures), (2) social parameters of saying *no* (i.e. how and when *no* may be said), and (3) values (which speakers in a given society commonly observe) (Rubin, 1983, p. 15-16).

In retrospect, since the 1970s, a wide variety of speech acts have been studied in cross-cultural domains. With differing purposes, the studies have a wide range of focuses. Most of the studies investigate speech acts from a non-metapragmatic perspective. Also, many of them have descriptive results that do not generalize beyond the specific speech acts studied. Consequently, most of the findings are generally population- and study-specific, and it is not always possible to compare them to one another to obtain a picture for a given speech act. The speech acts studied generally include apologies (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Borkin & Reinhart, 1978; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981, 1985; Coulmas, 1981; Godard 1977; House, 1988; Olshtain, 1983; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Trosborg, 1987); complaints (Bonikowska, 1985; DeCapua, 1989; House & Kasper, 1981; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1987); compliments (Wolfson, 1983, 1989b); disagreement (LoCastro, 1986; Pomerantz, 1984); disapproval (D'Amico-Reisner, 1983); gratitude (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986); requests (Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Fearch & Kasper, 1989; House & Kasper, 1987; Tanaka, 1988; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982; Walters, 1980); refusals (Beebe & Cummings, 1985; Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990; Takahashi & Beebe, 1986, 1987; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Hartford

& Bardovi-Harlig, 1992); and suggestions (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990).

Comparable with the variety of the speech acts investigated is the diversity of data collection methods, which have a significant influence on the findings. In the next section, major methods for collecting speech act data and their strengths and shortcomings will be discussed.

Data Collection Methods

Although there are many methods for collecting speech act data, Wolfson (1986) suggests that they fall into two general types: observation and elicitation. Also, depending on the kind of data they result in, the methods can be categorized into either production or perception/comprehension (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). Of the various data gathering methods for speech act studies, the three most commonly employed seem to be observation of authentic speech, role play, and discourse completion tasks/tests (DCTs).

Observation of Authentic Speech

As noted by Wolfson (1986), the observation approach grew out of anthropological studies and has been employed by anthropologists concerned with describing the speech behavior of a group or community of which they themselves are not members (p. 690). Since pragmatics is highly context-driven, it is best illustrated with an observational approach when a speech act actually occurs and is immediately recorded as natural, authentic data, documenting specific utterances (including pitches, tones, paces, pauses, etc.) with detailed description of the situation, the event, and the non-verbal reaction, status, gender, age, and relationships of the interlocutors.

The greatest strength of authentic data is that they have high internal validity as they are events that actually happened and are described in detail. They also provide a rich context so that a researcher or reader, when judging pragmatic appropriateness of the interlocutors, can reconstruct the entire speech act event based on the natural data and the likelihood of his or her misinterpreting the situation is thus greatly reduced.

Two studies employing the observation approach were conducted by Wolfson (1989b) and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990). Wolfson's data were based on "an extensive corpus of well over 1,000 examples, gathered over the past two years" (Wolfson, 1989b, p. 227). The data included native and nonnative compliments and compliment responses that occurred naturally in daily interactions. The findings generally suggest the nonnative speakers' difficulties in phrasing appropriate responses and their failure in recognizing compliments as a social lubricant in the target culture. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990) studied status-preserving strategies in academic advising sessions. 18 nonnative and 7 native graduate students were involved. The discovered difference concerned the ways in which the native and the nonnative speakers preserved status and performed status-incongruent act, such as making suggestions or rejections to the advisor. In comparison with the nonnative speakers, the native speakers were better able to strike a balance between presenting themselves as active individuals and preserving their status as advisees by providing suggestions and rejecting advice with mitigators and tentativeness.

Very few speech act studies employed the observation approach, in that natural, authentic data are very hard to come by, as speech act events occur unpredictably. In addition, it is highly unlikely that, in real-life situations, a given speech act reoccurs with the same event, in the same context, and/or with interlocutors of the same relationships. Wolfson also suggests that "human behavior is not neat, and the factors that condition the patterns of everyday interaction are complex and dynamic. When one observes without intervening, then there is no real way of controlling for one variable or another" (1986, p. 690). Because the variables in real-life speech act events not only are very complicated but also can hardly be held constant to allow for cross-event or cross-cultural comparisons, speech act events can only be studied and analyzed as individual cases. Generating an abstract principle out of limited, individual, differing situations can be difficult due to the frequent lack of a common base for comparison. Therefore, authentic data tend not to have high external validity.

Role Play

Since authentic data are hard to come by, role play is sometimes employed to collect naturalistic data. In a role play, subjects are given instructions that specify the roles, the initial situation, and at least one participant's communicative goal, without prescribing conversational outcomes. The role-play interaction is "real" in the context of the play in that some outcome needs to be negotiated (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 228).

The major advantage of role play as a data collection method is that the pragmatic interactions observed are contextualized. Since role play often takes several turns in the discourse, it can provide much insight into the meaning negotiation process as well as other qualities of authentic conversation. It allows the investigator to observe how speech act performance is carried out and how an utterance of a speaker determines the response of the interlocutor. In addition, role play has a major advantage over authentic conversation; it is replicable and allows for nonnative-native comparison in cross-cultural studies (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 229). Role play was employed to gather data in the investigations of requests by Walters (1980), invitations and requests by Scarcella (1979), initiating and responding acts by Kasper (1981), apologies by Trosborg (1987), and requests by Tanaka (1988).

One primary drawback of role play as a data collection method is that subjects tend to be obliged to produce the item the investigator is interested in studying (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, p. 27) and thus threatens the validity of the study. In addition, in performing role play, the subjects understand that the situation is not real life and there is no risk of threatening either the speaker's or the listener's positive or negative face. Consequently, they may, to a certain extent, exaggerate the pragmatic interaction just to create a role-playing, dramatic effect and thus produce a pattern substantially different from their usual behavior or what would have occurred in a real-life situation.

Discourse Completion Tasks

Discourse completion tasks/tests (DCTs) have been a much used and controversial elicitation method in cross-cultural speech act studies. The method was first employed in investigating speech act realization by Blum-Kulka (1982). A DCT is a written questionnaire in which scenarios that call for specific speech acts are presented to the subjects for them to respond in writing what they think they would actually say under the described situations. An example of a DCT scenario is:

> Your roommate asks to use your car to go to Chicago. Knowing that he/she is a careless and unskillful driver, you don't want to lend him/her your car.
>
> You say: ____

In their study investigating native and nonnative English refusals, Beebe and Cummings (1985) compared data collected by the DCT with data collected by tape-recorded naturally occurring telephone conversations. They discovered that the DCT is a highly effective means of:

(1) gathering a large amount of data quickly;

(2) creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will occur in natural speech;

(3) studying the stereotypical, perceived requirements for socially appropriate (though not always polite) responses;

(4) gaining insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech and performance; and

(5) ascertaining the canonical shape of refusals, apologies, partings, etc., in the minds of the speakers of that language. (p. 13)

Beebe and Cummings (1985) have also demonstrated that, for refusals, subjects' intuitions about what they would say correspond closely to what other subjects actually did say in the same situation and that written responses are valid, containing elements that the subjects feel must necessarily be present to serve a particular function. Therefore, the DCT responses adequately capture the essence of their oral counterparts. In addition, Olshtain & Blum-Kulka (1984) suggest that the DCT meets the need of cross-linguistic research to control social variables for comparability; it allows the investigator to control certain basic social parameters of the situation (e.g. setting, gender, social status, etc.) The controlled context serves to elicit the realization of a given speech act, and the manipulation of social parameters across situations serves to examine the variation in strategies relative to social parameters (p. 241). In addition, because all subjects are presented with the same scenarios and respond in the same written form, data analysis tends to be more consistent and reliable.

However, because real-life verbal interaction involves much more elaboration, especially in face-threatening situations, the DCT, as an instrument to investigate speech acts, has been controversial. Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones (1989) maintain that it is not reasonable to always assume that written responses are representative of spoken ones because short, decontextualized written segments are not comparable to authentic, longer routines (p. 182). Also, Beebe and Cummings (1985) pointed out that DCT responses do not adequately represent:

(1) the actual wording used in real interaction;

(2) the range of formulas and strategies used (some, like avoidance, tend to be left out);

(3) the length of response or the number of turns it takes to fulfill the function;

(4) the depth of emotion that in turn qualitatively affects the tone, content, and form of linguistic performance;

(5) the number of repetitions and elaborations that occur; or

(6) the actual rate of occurrence of a speech act -- e.g., whether or not someone would naturalistically refuse at all in a given situation. (p. 14)

In spite of the controversy, the DCT is still very commonly used, given that the values of the DCT are considered to be greater than the possible disadvantages. Studies that employed the DCT include the investigations of apologies (House, 1988), complaints (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1987), requests (Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; House & Kasper, 1987; Fearch & Kasper, 1989; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), and gratitude (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986).

One major controversy about the DCT is its written format. Regarding the possible under- or mis-representation of the written format, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) claim that the DCT is, in fact, "written role play":

> With both methods, subjects are asked to role-play what they or someone else might *say* in a given situation. So both methods elicit representations of spoken language . . . we know that spoken language is not always spoken, and neither is written language always actually in writing. For example, letters or notes, while in written form, have more of the characteristics of oral language, and the formal lecture, while produced orally, will reflect the characteristics of written language. In other words, the differences become more or less distinct depending on the linguistic genre produced [rather than the form of production]. (p. 270-271)

However, this claim about the DCT being written role play can be argued against by the fact that, unlike authentic conversation or role play, the DCT does not provide the hearer's reaction to what the speaker (or the subject of the DCT) says in the described situations. As pointed out by Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984), "The approach . . . focusses on the speaker's point of view . . . such an approach does not provide us with the hearer's point of view, namely with the extent to which different strategies . . . would be acceptable in the given situation" (p. 241). As aforementioned, the hearer's view is valuable in gaining insights to pragmatic appropriateness, and thus a pragmatic judgement task/test should follow a DCT to assess the acceptability or appropriateness of the subjects' DCT responses. Unfortunately, in many (if not most) studies, conclusions are often drawn from only what the subjects say in the DCT, assuming it to be the "norm" of how the speech community of the subjects realizes the speech act, without bringing in the hearer's judgement on whether the "norm" observed in the data is pragmatically representative of the speech community.

This also raises another issue about speech act research methodology. A single data collection method, disregarding what advantages it may offer, is often inadequate and may even flaw the data and bias the findings. Therefore, the researcher needs to employ multiple data collection methods (such as the DCT combined with a pragmatic judgement test) to investigate the various aspects of the construct in question, to avoid potential pitfalls, and to obtain findings that are more reliable and valid.

Combination of Data Collection Methods

Wolfson (1986) emphasizes the importance of collecting both qualitative and quantitative data in pragmatic research and stresses the value of observation and elicitation methods complementing each other. She proposed a two-pronged approach towards data collection and analysis: the investigator should begin with systematic observation, from which initial hypotheses can be formed, then an elicitation instrument can be developed and employed to collect data for the initial hypotheses to be tested or for more well-rounded hypotheses to emerge. The investigator should also move back and forth between observation and elicitation to refine the findings.

Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984) also proposed a three-phase procedure for speech act studies across languages. Phase one is to be based on ethnographic data collection, with the data analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. In phase two, the hypotheses from phase one are to be translated to controlled data collection instruments that focus on the speaker's point of view. An open-ended instrument such as the DCT is useful for this phase. In phase three, the hypotheses about speech act behavior are to be refined and the focus is to be shifted to the hearer's point of view. At this phase, the investigator is interested in establishing the range of acceptability as exhibited by native speakers of a language. In addition, phases two and three can be carried out cross-culturally; in both phases, contextual variables can be controlled and the realization of a given speech act can thus be compared across languages and cultures.

The two-pronged approach and the three-phase procedure are in fact very similar to the research design of this study. In the next chapter, the evolution of this study, the development of the methodology, and the design of the main instrument are presented.

CHAPTER THREE: EMERGING DESIGN

-- A RESEARCH INQUIRY

In this chapter, I present a line of research on pragmatics that entailed several studies I conducted, each of which yielded observations and raised questions that led into and formed the basis for further inquiry. The multiple and interrelated facets of the findings in these individual studies collectively contributed to the research design of the subsequent metapragmatics study and my understanding of the construct of the metapragmatics of refusal.

Saying What You Mean and Meaning What You Say --

How the Inquiry Began

> The "please help yourself" that Americans use so often had a rather unpleasant ring in my ears . . . The meaning, of course, is simply "please take what you want without hesitation", but literally translated it has somehow a flavor of "nobody else will help you", and I could not see how it came to be an expression of good will. (Doi, 1973, p. 13)

In the above, Doi, a Japanese scholar, describes the difficulty of pragmatic adaption that he experienced during his stay in the USA. In the same vein, a colleague of mine once made an observation during our conversation about cross-cultural communication:

> While I was living in England, the natives would invite me to their house for supper by saying "Would you like to come over for a meal?" I took this as a real invitation, when, in fact, many times it has the same meaning as we Americans say when we ask how someone is. There is no real intent behind the statement. They say this just as "a nice thing to say."

Cases and observations like these led me to become interested in the phenomenon of how people of different culture or language backgrounds convey one meaning in many different ways and infer different meanings from one statement.

It seemed that, at one level, the above two cases were contrary to each other. In Doi's case, the cultural outsider, who was also a nonnative speaker, failed to understand the phrase "Help yourself" at its face value (i.e. sentence meaning) and conjured an (unfriendly) connotation that was not intended by the speaker. In the other case, my American colleague, who was a native speaker of English but a cultural outsider to the British community, failed to recognize the discrepancy between the sentence meaning "Would you like to come over for a meal?" and the speaker's lack of intention for dinner invitation. These two cases presented very confusing and even contradictory information to me -- As a nonnative speaker and a cultural outsider, am I supposed to understand an utterance by its sentence meaning or should I speculate an underlying speaker meaning that may even go so far as to contradict its sentence meaning? How do I say (or *not* say) what I mean? To me, the utterance-and-intention issue was not only an academic interest to pursue but, more importantly, an immediate, real-life situation to resolve as, being a cultural outsider in a foreign country, I needed to know what was meant by what was said and how to say what I meant!

As I looked deeper into the situations, it then occurred to me that, at another level, the two cases were actually very similar. Both Doi and my American colleague failed to make an appropriate association between the sentence meaning and the speaker meaning -- the speaker may mean what he/she says literally in one case (such as that of Doi's) or may not mean what he/she says in another case (such as that of my colleague's). Also, the association between the sentence meaning and the speaker meaning has to be a socioculturally customary one that is (consciously or unconsciously) known to the members of the speech community, given the fact that most (if not all) Americans understand "Help yourself" literally means "Help yourself" and that most British natives won't fail to recognize that "Would you like to come over for a meal?" is simply a nice thing to say and normally doesn't count as an invitation. It is the cultural outsiders, whether speaking the language natively or not, who have problems making appropriate association.

What, then, is the appropriate association? Is it patterned? If so, what is the pattern like? Just as grammatical rules prescribe or describe the proper linguistic form of a language, answers to these questions seemed important to me as they could be the "pragmatic guide" to the proper use and understanding of a language. As a nonnative speaker and a cultural outsider in the USA, I wanted to learn how to function in the target language not just grammatically correctly but socioculturally appropriately; as a foreign language researcher, I believed the learner as well as the teacher would benefit from understanding how the native speakers socioculturally convey meanings and how the typical meaning conveying patterns in the target language differs from those in the learner's native language.

As I became interested in the general area of language use, observations from some reading and a news event led me to focus on one of the many aspects in pragmatics.

In my reading, I came across documented scenarios in which cross-cultural communication broke down primarily because of one's unfamiliarity with how messages of a certain type (i.e. speech act) are customarily expressed in a foreign language. Many of these scenarios were related to suggesting a refusal or disagreement. One incident that is not only often cited but well known politically dated back to 1974, when President Nixon of the US requested Mr. Sato, the late Prime Minister of Japan, to restrict Japan's fabrics export to the U.S. Mr. Sato, in reply, said "Zensho shimasu," literally translated as "I'll take care of it." In Japanese, the reply was actually a subtle refusal; however, to President Nixon, it was undoubtedly affirmative. Therefore, he became quite upset later when he found out that the Japanese "broke their word," whereas the fact was that the Japanese never gave their word in the first place.

Probably due to such an experience of pragmatic failure, during President Bush's visit in Japan in 1992, the news media paid much attention to the aspect of cross-cultural communication when reporting the visit. A CNN reporter commented on the cultural barrier between the two countries by saying that, in Japanese, there were said to be about sixteen ways of saying *no*, and fourteen of them would sound like *yes* to the American ear.

I became intrigued by the fact that, first, *no*, the one-syllable, two-letter word and an extremely simple message, could be carried out in as many as sixteen different ways in a language, and, second, most of these sixteen ways could be understood in another language as carrying just the opposite meaning! In addition, if politicians have problems conveying refusals, how much more difficult it would be for people to say and understand *no* cross-culturally. As a nonnative speaker and a foreign language teacher, I wondered exactly how native and nonnative speakers of English say *no*, whether there are patterns, and if so, how the patterns could differ and result in cross-cultural pragmatic failure. With these questions about the speech act of refusal, I conducted a study to examine how native and nonnative speakers go about saying *no*.

Native & Nonnative Refusal Patterns -- A Discourse Completion Task

Research Questions

The initial question I began with was *Why is the speech act of refusal a sticking point in cross-cultural communication?* For research purposes, however, this was too general a question and needed to be approached from a more specific point of view. Given the observations about the association between the sentence meaning and the speaker's intention, I thought a better way to approach the general research question would be to examine how native and nonnative speakers of a language differ in their refusal expressions. More specifically, I wanted to study the pattern differences between native and nonnative refusals in English. In addition, since the possible pattern differences could be attributed not only to foreign language speaking or learning but also to culture specificity, I involved nonnative speakers of different language backgrounds.

Before *patterns* could be compared, they needed to be defined operationally. Beebe et al. (1990), who have conducted extensive research on refusals, established a thorough semantic taxonomy to classify refusals (see Appendix A). Based on semantic differences, the taxonomy lists over thirty categories of refusing strategies, ranging from the most direct (e.g., performative statement "I refuse") to the most indirect (e.g. avoidance such as postponement and hedging) with examples to help define the classification. This taxonomy is probably the most well established framework in classifying the speech act of refusal. The clearly defined categories cover a wide range of possible refusal strategies and thus would serve as well-founded patterns to code the data that I gathered.

Data Collection

Natural Data

The type of data that I gathered was restricted to its availability. Ideally, as discussed in Chapter Two, refusals that occurred naturally would be the best data because of their high validity. In reality, however, natural data are very difficult to come by; they are also difficult to compare across situations. Intending to "capture" natural refusals, I carried a note pad around for a couple of weeks, tuning into conversations occurring around me and ready to scribble down any refusal instances for the study, but only to find that the contexts in which refusals occurred were of too wide a range to allow for cross-instances comparison. In addition, as an outsider of the situations, I often did not have the entire picture to even understand what the refusals were about. Consequently, I had to abort the idea of gathering natural refusals and opted for other elicitation means.

Role Play

Since natural data were difficult to gather and analyze, I turned to role play as a means to collect *naturalistic* speech act data.

According to Beebe et al. (1990), there are generally four types of situations in which refusals often occur; they are requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions. For each of these four types, I developed a scenario that was likely to occur with both native and nonnative college/graduate students, who were the population that I had access to for the study. I also planned to be the character in the role play that proposed the request, the invitation, the offer, or the suggestion in the scenario and had the individual participants play the role of the other character who carried out the refusal.

I invited a total of 8 nonnative speakers and 7 native speakers for the role play. The data collection, however, did not go smoothly. The major problems I encountered when conducting the study were that 1) the participants (especially the nonnative speakers) tended to dislike or even be intimidated by the idea that their speech acts would be recorded and studied and thus withdrew from the role play, resulting in a even smaller number of participants; and 2) some participants, when later requested to reflect on the validity of their conversation in the role play, admitted that they dramatized the interaction and that the conversation thus was either unnatural or not very close to what they would have said in a similar, real-life situation. What's more, many participants did not actually act out the characters in the scenarios; instead, they opted out of the play by simply stating "if I were the person in that situation, I would probably say . . ." Responses so phrased seemed to suggest a methodology switch to the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) for data gathering.

Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

A Discourse Completion Task (DCT) is a questionnaire that contains two parts: descriptions of scenarios and elicitation of speech responses from the subjects regarding their reactions to the described situations. Since the format of the DCT lent itself well to the way in which the subjects tended to give their responses during the role play, I designed a DCT to collect refusal data.

The Scenarios

Based on the four types of refusal-eliciting situations (i.e. requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions), I developed a DCT questionnaire (see Appendix B) that included eight scenarios adapted from the refusal study by Beebe et al. (1990). Each scenario was followed by a space for the subjects to fill in the particular refusal. For instance,

Scenario: Your roommate asks to use your car to go to Chicago. Knowing that he/she is a careless and unskillful driver, you don't feel like lending him/her your car.

You say: ____

____

Intended to be cross-culturally and -linguistically common, the scenarios in the DCT (e.g. borrowing notes, roommate requesting a favor, receiving an invitation, etc.) were situations likely to happen to both native and nonnative college/graduate students and thus could be easily related to by both groups. The reason that I chose students to be the subjects for the study was primarily because I hoped to be able to apply the findings to foreign language learning, and the learners would more easily relate to situations familiar to them.

Also, as one can see from the above example, the scenarios in the DCT were described in such ways that the subjects were prompted to make a refusal and were not offered the choice to "opt out" because the purpose of the task was not to investigate the likelihood of the subjects making a refusal under the situation but what they would say when obliged to refuse by the circumstance. In addition, the subjects were encouraged to respond as they actually would had such situations actually occurred.

The Factor of Gender

The scenarios were gender-irrelevant or -neutral in that there was no specification as to the gender of the characters in the scenarios. There were two reasons for the gender neutrality. The first had to do with the purpose of the DCT study, which was to investigate what the subjects (male or female) would typically say when making a refusal to an interlocutor (male or female), and not the possible variations of refusal caused by the factor of the subject's or the character's gender.

The second reason was more of a technical one. If the gender of the scenario character were to be specified, a counterpart item for each scenario would have to be developed that involved a character of the opposite sex (disregarding the issue of item comparability) to allow for comparison across genders. In so doing, the items of the DCT would have doubled in number and thus been too lengthy for the subjects to respond to. By leaving the scenario character's gender unspecified, it was hoped that the mental representations of the situations the subjects projected in responding to the DCT were gender-neutral and their responses would likely be applicable to both a male and a female interlocutor.

The Factor of Social Distance

Also for two reasons, the characters involved in the scenarios of the DCT were described as acquaintances (e.g. a classmate, a friend, a colleague, a roommate, etc.) The first reason was related to Wolfson's Bulge Theory (1986, 1988, 1989a) as discussed in Chapter Two. According to Wolfson, relationships that fall on the extremes of social distance scale (i.e. the most intimate and the most estranged) are unsusceptible to change, whereas relationships that fall on the middle of the scale are more in flux and therefore required to be "worked on" carefully in order to promote or maintain positive relationship between the interlocutors. Instead of intimates (e.g. spouse, siblings, etc.) or strangers (e.g., salespeople), who represent a very definite relationship (or completely lack thereof in the case of strangers) that are the extremes on the social distance scale, the characters portrayed as acquaintances in the DCT scenarios represented grey-area relationships that call for careful pragmatic interactions. Consequently, when the subjects responded to these scenarios, the consideration they had to give in delivering the refusals needed to be far more sophisticated than in the case of refusing an intimate or a stranger so as to maintain face and avoid jeopardizing the interpersonal relationship. Therefore, the refusals carried out under such constraints would reflect a wider spectrum of sociopragmatic parameters and provide richer insights into the sophistication of the speech act.

The second reason that the characters in the DCT scenarios fell into the gray area of the social distance scale was that it occurs far more frequently that one faces the difficulty of declining acquaintances than declining intimates or strangers. Refusing an acquaintance is not only more difficult but also more frequent for nonnative speakers and foreign language learners. Nonnative speakers and learners rarely need to refuse intimates or complete strangers in the target language but do face cross-cultural situations in which they are, in one way or another, interpersonally connected with the person to whom they express refusals. "Flat out" refusals are likely to jeopardize one's relationship with the interlocutor, and implicit refusals may fail to convey the intention. In such situations, pragmatic discretion would be called for and pragmatic competence could be examined.

The Subjects and the Administration of the DCT

At a residence hall of Indiana University where many international students lived, I invited 26 native and nonnative speakers of English to responded to the DCT. They were graduate students of different language backgrounds: seven Taiwanese/Chinese, five Japanese, four Koreans, five Germans, and five Americans. 46% of the respondents were male and 54% female. The DCT took the subjects 25 minutes on average to complete. As graduate students, the nonnative speakers were highly proficient and had no linguistic difficulty in phrasing English refusals in the DCT.

To ensure that the written data in the DCT adequately represented the refusals intended by the subjects, three to four weeks after the administration of the DCT, I interviewed three of the subjects (one native and two nonnative speakers). During the individual interviews, I showed the subjects the DCT scenarios again with their written responses and asked them to reflect on whether the scenarios were plausible to them and whether their written responses were representative of the refusals they intended to convey. Generally, the interviewees considered all the scenarios likely to occur to them and even reported that they had actually encountered situations that resembled some of the scenarios, such as declining an invitation or an offer, refusing to lend out important belongings, etc. In addition, in reviewing their written refusals, the interviewees indicated that the responses were valid representations of what they thought they might actually say when refusing in similar, real-life situations, although they also admitted that there were other variables (such as the gender, the personality of and familiarity with the interlocutor, etc.) that they would consider.

Pattern Analysis & General Findings

After the DCT questionnaires had been collected, the responses on the DCT were categorized. Each response was segmented into semantic units, each of which was a smallest, complete unit of semantic information that could stand alone and be understood by itself. The semantic units in a response then were categorized using the semantic taxonomy by Beebe et al. (1990), and the entire response could be characterized by a semantic formula, which is a combination of semantic units. For example, the scenario in which one's roommate asks to use one's car for a trip. In refusing, the respondent may give an answer such as:

I'm sorry, but I need it this week. I won't be able to get around without my car.

This response can be divided into 3 units, each of which falls into a corresponding semantic category in the taxonomy (as shown in the brackets):

(1) *I'm sorry.* -->
[regret]

(2) *But I need it this weekend.* -->
[excuse/reason/explanation]

(3) *I won't be able to get around without my car.* -->
[statement of negative consequence]

Therefore, the semantic formula that characterizes the above response to the scenario would be:

[regret] + [excuse/reason/explanation] + [statement of negative consequence]

To ensure that the responses were categorized properly, I had a native speaking colleague independently code the data. The results of our analyses were then compared. Because the semantic taxonomy by Beebe et al. (1990) includes examples that define and clarify each category, we were able to reach a high level (96%) of inter-rater reliability. The very few responses on which we had coding disagreement were those that were semantically ambiguous and thus did not lend themselves clearly to a specific category in the taxonomy. The uncodable responses were not incorporated in the final analysis.

Coded as semantic formula, the responses were compared to discover the general pattern for each scenario in each language group. The most frequent combination of semantic units for each language group in each scenario is listed in Table 1.

Table 1
Most Frequently Observed Refusal Patterns

Scenarios	1st Lang.= English (n=5)	1st Lang.= Chinese (n=7)	1st Lang.= Japanese (n=5)	1st Lang.= Korean (n=4)	1st Lang.= German (n=5)
#1: *Classmate requests to borrow notes*	(freq.=60%) [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]+ [regret]	(freq.=57%) [reason/excuse]	(freq.=40%) [regret]+ [neg willingness]+ [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]	(freq.=75%) [alternative]	(freq.=40%) [reason/excuse]+ [criticism]
#2: *Roommate requests to borrow car*	(freq.=60%) [regret]+ [principle] or [reason/excuse]	(freq.=42%) [reason/excuse]	(freq.=60%) [regret]+ [reason/excuse]+ [postponement]	(freq.=50%) [regret]+ [neg willingness]+ [reason/excuse]	(freq.=40%) [regret]+ [reason/excuse]+ [principle]
#3: *Colleague invites to join for lunch*	(freq.=40%) [appreciation]+ [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]	(freq.=42%) [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]	(freq.=40%) [regret]+ [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]+ [appreciation]	(freq.=50%) [reason/excuse]	(freq.=40%) [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]
#4: *Friend invites to dinner*	(freq.=60%) [appreciation]+ [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]	(freq.=72%) [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]	(freq.=60%) [regret]+ [neg willingness]+ [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]	(freq.=75%) [regret]+ [reason/excuse]	(freq.=40%) [reason/excuse]
#5: *Friend offers to bring drink in cafeteria*	(freq.=60%) [*No*]+ [appreciation]+ [reason/excuse]	(freq.=57%) [*No*]+ [appreciation]+ [alternative]	(freq.=40%) [*No*]+ [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]	(freq.=75%) [*No*]+ [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]	(freq.=80%) [*No*]+ [reason/excuse]+ [appreciation]
#6: *Guest offers to clean up coffee spilt*	(freq.=100%) [let interlocutor off the hook]	(freq.=42%) [let interlocutor off the hook]	(freq.=40%) [let interlocutor off the hook]	(freq.=50%) [let interlocutor off the hook]	(freq.=40%) [let interlocutor off the hook]
#7: *Waitress suggests "Chef's Favorite"*	(freq.=40%) [*No*]+ [reason/excuse]; or [positive opinion] +[alternative]	(freq.=57%) [appreciation]+ [alternative]	(freq.=40%) [pause filler]+ [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]	(freq.=75%) [alternative]	(freq.=60%) [reason/excuse]+ [alternative]
#8: *Friend suggests keeping reminders*	(freq.=40%) [positive opinion] +[reason/excuse]	(freq.=42%) [positive opinion]+ [reason/excuse]	(freq.=60%) [positive opinion] +[postponement]	(freq.=50%) [appreciation]+ [postponement]	(freq.=40%) [criticism]+ [reason/excuse]

The analysis yielded only very general findings. However, the general results raised additional questions and indicated directions for further exploration.

An initial observation of the results seemed to be that there was a pattern within each language group and for each scenario. The pattern was applicable to at least 40% of the responses in each language group and scenario. Although the frequency percentages have limited generalizability because of the small number of subjects in each group, the general patterns could be taken to suggest that, within each language group, there was a semantically preferred way to convey refusals. The patterns also indicated that there existed some group-specific characteristics. For instance, the refusals of the Japanese group involved noticeably more semantic strategies than those of other (nonnative) language groups; regret was not found in the refusal patterns of the Chinese group as it was in all other groups; and the German group was the only one that incorporated criticism in the refusal patterns.

Secondly, although the scenarios were to elicit refusals, direct refusing (i.e. semantic category [*No*]) was not one of the most common strategies; the subjects, disregarding their language backgrounds, preferred circumlocution such as expressing reasons/excuses or suggesting inability/unwillingness as a way to get around the refusals. This phenomenon might be a universal one as it applied to all of the five language groups in the survey. It also substantiated the occurrence of miscommunication -- people don't always say *no* when they mean *no*, and the ways they avoid articulating *no* might be cross-lingually so different that they either consider each other as being infelicitous or end up not even understanding each other.

Thirdly, in some scenarios (e.g., Scenarios 5 and 6), very similar or even identical patterns were found across language groups, whereas in some other scenarios (e.g. Scenarios 1, 2, and 7), all groups had very different patterns. This observation may imply that there existed in some scenarios situation-dependent factors that triggered the pattern differences. Perhaps due to language- or culture-specific communication styles, the language groups reacted differently to the situation-dependent factors.

Questions from the Findings

The above general observations raised additional questions. Obviously, the findings suggested what the native and nonnative language groups' refusal patterns were like in the scenarios. The discovered pattern differences and similarities, however, did not provide explanations for cross-cultural pragmatic failure. In other words, how would the semantic pattern similarities or differences across language groups be construed as pragmatic (in)appropriateness? Would pragmatic appropriateness be predicted where pattern similarities across groups were found? Is pragmatic infelicity bound to occur when patterns differ? For example, in the case of refusing the guest's offer to clean up coffee spilt (Scenario 6), all groups were found to employ the identical semantic strategy [let the interlocutor off the hook]. Could this be taken to mean that, in such an event, cross-cultural pragmatic inappropriateness would unlikely be experienced? And in the case of turning down a classmate's request for borrowing notes (Scenario 1), all groups varied in the types, number, and combination of their semantic strategies; would it be appropriate to assume that, in such a scenario, the subjects would most likely find speakers of other language backgrounds pragmatically infelicitous? A link needed to be made between the refusal patterns and pragmatic appropriateness.

Another problem concerned the mechanism of semantic categorization. As suggested in Table 1, some semantic strategies were used across language groups to convey refusals. However, there can be multiple ways of employing a semantic strategy. Take for instance the strategy [reason/excuse], which was the most commonly observed across all scenarios and language groups. Given that all reasons or excuses are not the same, we also need to know how they were expressed and what pragmatic effects they had on the situations. This led me to hypothesize that, for a given refusal to be pragmatically appropriate, two conditions have to be met. The first involves the appropriate *type* of semantic strategies, such as giving reasons/excuses, expressing regrets, suggesting inability, providing alternatives, or postponing replies. However, each of these strategies can be carried out in numerous ways, and for a refusal to be considered felicitous, it also has to meet a second condition, which involves the holistic *content* of the refusal. This could include (but is not limited to) elements such as the specific word choice, appropriateness of the situation, degree of politeness, level of hesitation, and persuasiveness of the reason/excuse. These interacting elements are too wide in range and too subtle by nature to be covered or captured by the formulaic mechanism of semantic categorization.

One other problem was related to the small number of subjects in each language group of the survey. Because the subject numbers were small, the responses had limited generalizability. However, the member-checking interviews I conducted with the three DCT subjects helped to establish the reliability of the responses.

The above issues led me into the next phase of the inquiry, in which the participants, who generated additional data by rating the existing data, were not only the subjects of the study but also my co-investigators of the refusal construct.

Pragmatic Appropriateness -- A Metapragmatic Judgement Task

Moving from Pragmatics to Metapragmatics -- Building on Questions from DCT Results

The inconclusive results of the DCT study formed the research questions for this subsequent study. Generally, the three major issues left unresolved in the previous study were:

(1) How would the pattern similarities and differences be construed with pragmatic (in)appropriateness,

(2) What other judgement tool(s) are there that better assess pragmatic appropriateness of refusal responses than the mechanism of semantic categorization does, and

(3) (How) would the limited generalizability of the DCT responses affect the next phase of the inquiry?

Regarding the first question, as demonstrated in the DCT study, refusal patterns alone do not provide adequate insight into the nature of pragmatic appropriateness. Therefore, a study should be designed to focus not on abstracting refusal patterns but on assessing pragmatic appropriateness of refusals. However, who is to best judge the pragmatic appropriateness of a refusal? Given the belief that pragmatic impressions are intuitive, the pragmatic appropriateness of a statement would be most accurately determined by having subjects intuitively and holistically rate the statement. With such a change of focus, the level of the research inquiry shifted from pragmatics to *metapragmatics*. Drawing on their pragmatic intuition in rating the statements, the subjects would disclose their innate criteria for pragmatic appropriateness. The ratings then could serve as indicators for grouping statements of the same appropriateness levels, and speculations could be made as to what pragmatic qualities were shared by the statements that contributed to their (in)felicity. The ratings could also be examined within and across language groups to investigate and compare language- or culture-specific features.

In addition to the quantitative ratings of pragmatic appropriateness, more insights would be obtained if the subjects could also provide open-ended opinions or reasons as to why they rated a given statement as (in)appropriate. Whereas the ratings would indicate the levels of pragmatic appropriateness for the statements, the reasons for the ratings would be useful for the investigation of the subjects' metapragmatic framework. Analyzing the reasons would allow one to examine whether a statement was rated as (in)appropriate for the same reasons by different respondents, what the reasons were, and if the reasons were language- or culture-specific. Furthermore, methodologically, the qualitative data of the reasons in conjunction with the quantitative data of the ratings for statement appropriateness would contribute to a more thorough investigation of the metapragmatic construct of refusal.

Regarding assessment tools, the second question implied that the construct of pragmatic appropriateness should be approached from a perspective other than that of semantics, which in the DCT study already provided general but inadequate observations. The solution in response to this question was related to that of the first question. Just as pragmatic impressions are intuitive, the pragmatics in a statement is holistic. Since response-external mechanisms such as semantic categorization cannot adequately capture or represent the intricacy of all the pragmatic elements in a statement, the statement is best treated as an unanalyzed whole rather than patterned segments. Therefore, the data to be looked into should not be the patterned results (which was attempted in the DCT analysis) but the actual refusal responses. This is to keep intact the statement's pragmatic "flavor", which could be altered or lost in the process of patternization.

As for the third question, the limited generalizability did not appear to be too much of a threat in this phase of the inquiry because of the focus shift. Instead of predicting or generalizing the refusal patterns of a language group or a given situation, the focus was on the speculation of the subjects' metapragmatic criteria on refusals and the investigation of the features of the speech act in relation to pragmatic appropriateness.

With the above implications from the three inquiry questions and based on the refusal responses collected in the DCT, I developed a questionnaire to elicit metapragmatic ratings and their reasons from two population groups: the advanced Chinese EFL learners and the native speakers of English.

Identifying Subject Populations

As stated in Chapter One, I hoped for the findings of this metapragmatic study to be applicable to language learning and cross-cultural communication in general and the advanced Chinese EFL population in specific. Perhaps due to cultural differences embedded in language use as well as the lack of attention to the pragmatic aspect of language learning, the advanced Chinese EFL learners, in spite of years of English training, do not demonstrate pragmatic competence comparable to their grammatical skills. Involving the advanced Chinese EFL learners as subjects provided the opportunity to investigate their metapragmatic state and allowed for speculations to be made regarding the factors that contribute to the observed competence incongruence. In addition, implications from their ratings and reasons would be more directly applicable to raising the pragmatic awareness of the Chinese EFL population in general. With this intended application and in order to facilitate cross-linguistic and cross-cultural contrastive analysis, I reduced the number of language groups in the metapragmatic study to only two: the advanced Chinese EFL learners as the target group and the native speakers of English as the norm of comparison.

Developing Research Tool

Based on the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) questionnaire and the refusal responses collected in the DCT study, I developed a questionnaire for the Metapragmatic Judgement Task (MJT) study (see Appendix C).

Four of the eight refusal-eliciting scenarios in the DCT questionnaire were randomly selected to be incorporated in the MJT questionnaire. Under each of the four scenarios, six refusal statements were also randomly selected from those made by the 26 native and nonnative DCT subjects. The reason that not all scenarios and refusal statements in the DCT were used in the MJT study was primarily because of the extensive amount of time it would have taken a subjects to respond to all items. With the reduced numbers of scenarios and refusal statements, a respondent would be able to complete the MJT questionnaire in approximately 30 minutes.

For each refusal statement under each scenario in the MJT, there are two areas for the subjects to respond to: (1) a five-point Likert scale for indicating the level of pragmatic appropriateness of the refusal statement (ranging from "1" as the least appropriate to "5" as the most appropriate), and (2) a space for indicating the reason(s) why the statement received a certain rating. For instance,

> Scenario I. *"W" attends classes regularly and takes good notes. One person in W's class who doesn't show up very often asks to borrow W's notes. Since W has to compete with the rest of the class to earn a good grade, W doesn't feel like sharing the results of his/her hard work with someone who doesn't work for it. W says,*
>
> 1 2 3 4 5 "If I lend my notes to you, it is unfair to me and others who come to class regularly."
>
> **Reason(s):** ____________________
>
> ____________________

The refusal statements in the MJT have high validity. As mentioned, the statements were not hypothetically created but actually collected from the DCT subjects. In addition, after the administration of the DCT, member-checking interviews were conducted with three respondents to ensure that the written responses adequately represented the subjects' intended refusals.

As for the reliability and validity of the metapragmatic ratings and reasons that the MJT questionnaire purported to elicit, because the metapragmatic approach is a fairly untraditional method of collecting speech act data, its dependability and credibility needed to be considered before the MJT questionnaire could be administered to the two subject populations at large.

The Issues of Reliability and Validity

In the literature review I conducted, very few studies related to metapragmatic judgement were encountered, none of which seemed to have clearly established reliability or validity for either metapragmatics (as a method, a construct, or a perspective) or the research tools used. As discussed in Chapter Two, metapragmatics is a relatively unexplored view for sociocultural language use. It is generally understood as "a pragmatic discussion on pragmatics" (Mey, 1993, p. 270) and as "reflections on the language users' use" (Mey, 1993, p. 182). Finding such definitions for metapragmatics hard to operationalize, one may legitimately pose the following questions:

(1) To what extent is people's metapragmatic intuition, on which this MJT study is based, a reliable means for investigating language use?

(2) Does the research tool elicit written responses that are valid representations of the respondents' metapragmatic judgements?

In order for these two questions to be answered, two studies were conducted. The first assessed the test/retest reliability of the appropriateness ratings on the refusal statements in order to examine whether the ratings were stable enough for further implications to draw from. The second was a validity study that entailed an interview protocol to examine whether the written reasons or comments adequately reflected the respondents' metapragmatic opinions.

Test/Retest Reliability on Ratings

To check the reliability of the metapragmatic ratings, the questionnaire was administered twice to the same subjects, with a four week interval. The subjects of the reliability study were a different group from but comparable to the populations of the MJT study. In the reliability study, the subjects were asked to quantitatively rate the appropriateness of the refusal statements without providing qualitative reasons/comments for their ratings because the open-ended responses would have taken too much extra time (approximately 30 more minutes). Given that the questionnaire was administered twice, it could have been tedious and even painstaking for the subjects to respond with reasons/comments to the same 24 statements a second time, and the written responses could thus be biased because of the fatigue effect. In addition, the validity of the reasons/comments of the MJT were addressed separately as the focus of the interview protocol in another study. Consequently, for the purpose of this reliability study, I modified the MJT questionnaire by keeping the five-point rating scale and removing the reasons/comments section under each refusal statement (see Appendix D). I then administered this rating-only version of the MJT questionnaire to the subjects of the reliability study -- 42 college-level native speakers of English in the US and 40 college-level advanced EFL learners in Taiwan. Four weeks later, the same test was re-administered to the same subjects with the order of the refusal statements randomly rearranged to avoid order effect. The instructions I gave to the two groups during the test and the retest were the same, as intended also for the MJT study:

> *Imagine that you happen to eavesdrop or witness a situation as any of the scenarios in the questionnaire, and someone responds with something as any of the statements under the scenarios. As an outsider, what would you think is the appropriateness of each statement in the situation?*

For both the native and the EFL groups, the findings of the test/retest study indicated that the subjects' metapragmatic judgement ratings were highly consistent over that period of time.

For the native group (see Appendix E), on average, 55% of the subjects' metapragmatic judgement ratings in the retest matched identically with their first-test ratings; 36% of the retest ratings differed from the first-test ratings by only 1 point on the 5 point scale; and only 9% of the retest ratings differed from the first-test ratings by 2 points or more (specifically, 8% for 2 point test/retest difference, 1% for 3 point difference, and 0% for 4 point difference). The average point of test/retest difference per statement per subject was 0.56. Statement-wise, Appendix F shows that no specific statement has a particularly high test/retest difference, suggesting a high rating reliability across statements.

For the advanced EFL group (see Appendix G), on average, 46% of the subjects' metapragmatic judgement ratings in the retest matched identically with their first-test ratings; 38% of the retest ratings differed from the first-test ratings by only 1 point on the 5 point scale; and only 16% of the retest ratings differed from the first-test ratings by 2 points or more (specifically, 13% for 2 point test/retest difference, 3% for 3 point difference, and 0% for 4 point difference). The average point of test/retest difference per item per subject was 0.72. Statement-wise, similar to the findings from the native group, Appendix H suggests that no specific statements seem to have extremely high test/retest difference in the EFL group.

The high consistency of the test/retest metapragmatic ratings across groups and statements indicates a high intra-rater and test/retest reliability. The reliability implies that the metapragmatic judgement indicated by the ratings is stable over time.

Interview Protocol for Response Validity

As mentioned, the MJT responses include appropriateness ratings and their reasons. To ensure that the reasons given in written form would reflect the subjects' metapragmatic opinions, an interview protocol was conducted before the administration of the actual MJT.

This interview protocol involved 10 college-level native speakers in the US and 10 college-level advanced EFL learners in Taiwan. These 20 subjects, who were not among but comparable to the MJT subjects, responded to the MJT questionnaire with ratings and provided the reasons for the ratings. Although the EFL learners were advanced enough to understand and communicate in English to successfully perform the task, they were still offered the option to respond in their first language (i.e. Chinese) when commenting on the refusal statements. This was to ensure that their responses were not restricted to only those they could express fully in the target language.

Three to four weeks after the completion of the questionnaire, I conducted individual interviews with the 20 subjects. During the interviews, I described again the refusal statements according to the questionnaire and had the subjects orally provide their metapragmatic opinions on the statements. The subjects then reflected on the validity of the written responses they provided earlier on the questionnaire. Specifically, the interview format was:

> *I am going to describe the four scenarios and their statements to you again, and I'd like you to tell me what you think about the appropriateness of each statement . . . (describing a refusal statement to the interviewee).*
>
> *(1) What comments do you have on this refusal statement?*
>
> *(2) On the questionnaire you responded to previously, you noted that . . . Would that still be your comments on the statement? Do you think the written response validly represents your opinion?*

The interviews were audiotaped with the subjects' permission. For the EFL subjects, the interviews were conducted in the language that the subjects used in giving their questionnaire comments. Of the 10 EFL subjects, 7 responded in, and thus were interviewed in, Chinese.

The 20 subjects' interview comments on the refusal statements were compared with their written comments. The focus of the comparison was on whether the opinions mentioned in the written comments were also mentioned or acknowledged in the interview. That is, during the interview, as the subjects provided oral comments on a statement, I checked their oral comments against their written response on the questionnaire. When an idea in the written response did not appear to match with the oral response, I described the unmatched or unmentioned idea and asked the subjects whether it was still valid to them.

The interview protocol was a validity check instead of a study on the metapragmatic opinions. Therefore, the few cases were ignored in which opinions were mentioned only in the interview but not in the questionnaire.

In addition, the comparison of the questionnaire and interview responses did not include the numerical ratings. This was because the ratings were already compared in the test/retest study, which involved a larger number of subjects and also demonstrated a very high level of reliability.

Generally, the results of the interview protocol showed very high validity across groups and statements (see Appendix I). Comparing the interview responses with the questionnaire responses, Appendix I shows that 97% of the ideas mentioned by the groups in the questionnaire were also mentioned or acknowledged during the interviews. This high percentage suggests that the written responses were representative of the subjects' metapragmatic opinions. The rare cases (3%) in which differences were observed between questionnaire responses and interview responses were those related to the ambiguity or oversimplification in a few written responses.

In addition, the levels of validity across individual refusal statements were quite similar (ranging from 95% to 99%.) The native and the EFL groups differed by only 1% (i.e. 97% and 96% for the native and the EFL groups respectively) on their validity levels. The statement-wise and group-wise consistencies suggested that the high validity held up across statements and was equally applicable to both populations.

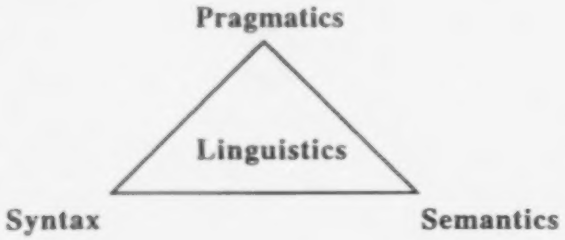
After the establishment of the reliability and validity with the test/retest method and the interview protocol, the MJT questionnaire was administered to the target and the norm populations. In the next chapter, the discussion includes the administration of the questionnaire, the data collection and analysis procedures, and the quantitative and qualitative findings of the MJT.

CHAPTER FOUR: METAPRAGMATICS

> Pragmatics, by itself, cannot explain or motivate its principles and maxims (Mey 1993, p. 270); metapragmatic conditions of language use, instead, reflect the societal state of human meanings as expressed in the pragmatic constraints on language (Mey 1993, p. 283).

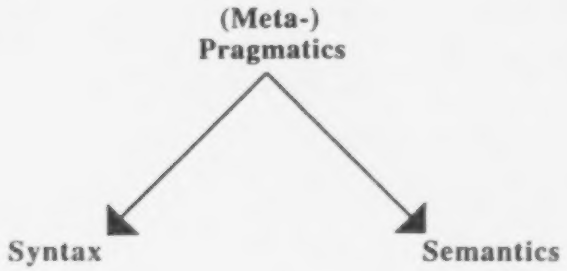
Metapragmatic Inquiry

The studies presented in Chapter Three led me to take metapragmatics as a construct of speech act, a perspective to view language use in relation to the speakers' sociocultural beliefs, and a research approach to investigate refusals. This three-pronged division seems to parallel Charles Morris' (1983) view of linguistics as a triad, composed of pragmatics, semantics, and syntax:

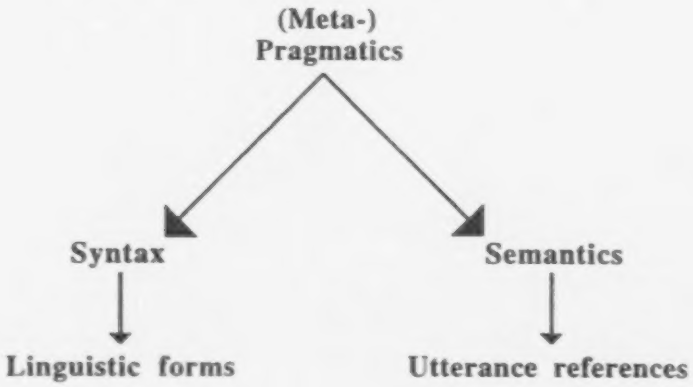


In the emerging design of the research, the inquiry has evolved to metapragmatics, or "the pragmatic discussion on pragmatics" (Mey, 1993, p. 270). Although linguistics can be viewed from a triad viewpoint, language nonetheless remains an integrated entity.

Therefore, to discuss pragmatics, one cannot dispense with syntax or semantics. Actually, the latter two serve as an avenue to the understanding of the former. In order words, we come to understand pragmatics via integrating syntax and semantics:



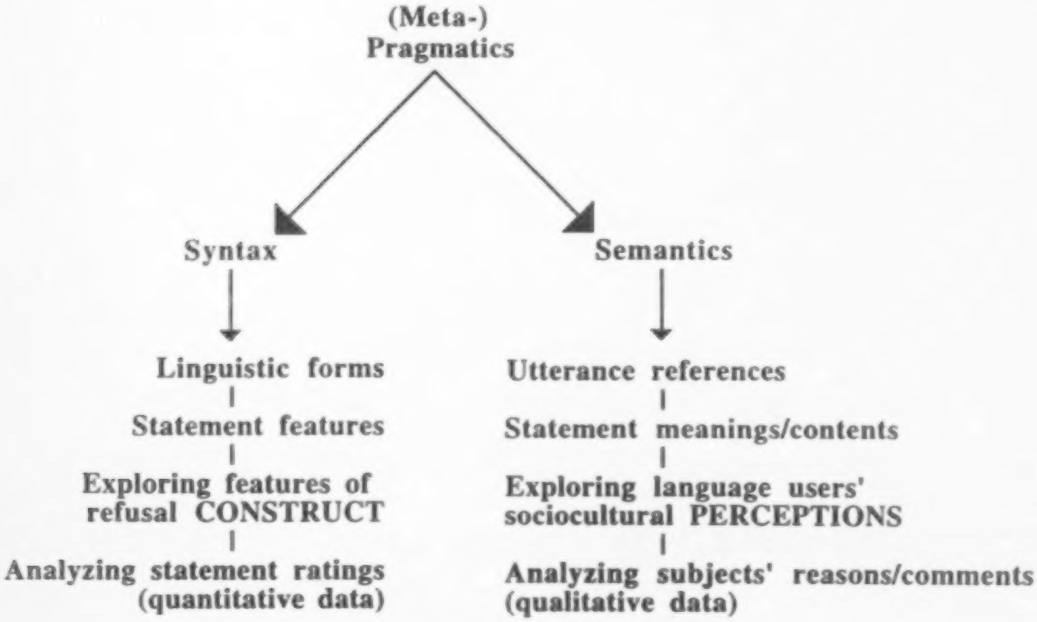
The focus of syntax is on the signs or forms of language; the emphasis of semantics is on designata or reference of language; and the concentration of pragmatics is on language users' uniting form and meaning (or syntax and semantics). Consequently, we can build on the linguistics triad with the following ramification, as an inquiry for metapragmatics:



This diagram illustrates the overarching structure for the metapragmatic analysis of this study, in which the research instrument elicited the kinds of data that were integrated and lent well to the above paradigm for analysis.

A Metapragmatic Judgement Task (MJT) questionnaire was developed for the present phase of the research inquiry as a result of the implications from the preceding studies. The MJT study involved two language populations, native speakers of English and Chinese EFL learners. As a construct, the metapragmatic study is not intended to merely understand the form of refusal but the factors and features that influence or determine the appropriateness of refusal expressions. As a perspective, the metapragmatic inquiry is based on speakers' intuition about appropriate language use and purports to investigate language-specific sociocultural beliefs and values as embedded in language use. As a research approach, the metapragmatic method explores the language users' perceptions about refusing, involving the speakers at more than one level, not only as subjects of the study or producers of the data but also co-investigators of the products of language use.

As mentioned, the MJT questionnaire included four scenarios, each of which had six refusal statements randomly selected from the previous Discourse Completion Task (DCT) study. For each refusal statement in the questionnaire, the subjects rated the appropriateness level and provided reasons for their ratings or comments on the statement appropriateness. With the purpose being to compare the metapragmatic ratings and opinions within and across the two language groups, the MJT survey was designed to generate interrelated quantitative and qualitative data that would contribute to the understanding of refusal and provide insight into the subjects' metapragmatic beliefs. The quantitative ratings allow for the analysis of the refusal construct, whereas the qualitative responses enables the exploration of the subjects' metapragmatic perceptions. In other words, the ratings given to the refusal statements would serve as indicators for the levels of pragmatic appropriateness, and statements with the same appropriateness level could be examined to discover common pragmatic features. These features, in turn, would contribute to the understanding of the refusal construct regarding pragmatic appropriateness. On the other hand, the subjects' reasons for their ratings would reveal the interaction of their metapragmatic perceptions with the statements' meanings and thus provide insights into their sociocultural beliefs about language use. Consequently, based on the linguistics triad, we see how the components of the research instrument and their corresponding data tie in with the above analysis paradigm, addressing both the construct of refusal and the perceptions of the subjects:


(Meta-) Pragmatics
Syntax
Semantics
Linguistic forms
Statement features
Exploring features of refusal CONSTRUCT
Analyzing statement ratings (quantitative data)
Utterance references
Statement meanings/contents
Exploring language users' sociocultural PERCEPTIONS
Analyzing subjects' reasons/comments (qualitative data)

In this chapter, I will discuss the backgrounds of the subjects, the administration of the MJT questionnaire, the qualitative and quantitative metapragmatic analyses as outlined above, and the integration of the findings.

The Subjects

As discussed in Chapter Three, the subject populations for the MJT study were advanced Chinese EFL learners as the target population and native speakers of English as the comparison group. Having decided on the subject populations, I began to seek access to both advanced EFL learners in Taiwan and native speakers of English in the U.S. In Taiwan, two English instructors in the National Taiwan University and Soochow University expressed interest in the study and invited their EFL learners to participate in the metapragmatic judgement survey. These learners, totaling 126 (46% male and 54% female), were first- and second-year English majors who had received approximately seven to eight years of formal English training and were fairly competent in the target language. The subjects' background suited the purpose of this study for two reasons. For one, their advanced level and their major in English suggested that they were capable of understanding and responding to the MJT questionnaire in English. In addition, these subjects were representative of the (advanced) EFL population in Taiwan, which is mostly college-level students.

The native speakers of English at college level served as an ideal comparison group in that they were in an age range similar to that of the Chinese EFL group and shared the common background of being college students. Consequently, the scenarios in the MJT questionnaire would hopefully bear equal relevance to both groups. Having identified the population for the comparison group, in several groups as well as individually, I invited college students at Indiana University to participate in the MJT study. In total, 106 native-speaking subjects (43% male and 57% female) participated and responded to the questionnaire.

Administration of MJT

Regarding how the scenarios in the MJT (see Appendix C) were approached, the construct of the metapragmatics on refusals would be better explored if the subjects could take an "outsider's" perspective (as opposed to an interlocutor's viewpoint) when they rated the appropriateness of the refusal statements. Specifically, the subjects were told to:

> *Imagine that you happen to eavesdrop or witness a situation as any of those scenarios in the questionnaire, and someone responds with something as any of those statements under the scenarios. As an outsider, what do you think is the appropriateness of each statement in the situation? Based on your subjective opinions, rate the appropriateness of each statement on the scale of 1 to 5, ranging from 1 being the least appropriate to 5 being the most appropriate. And then, in the space provided below each scale, discuss the reason(s) why you give the statement such a rating.*

The reason that the subjects were given an outsider's perspective was for them to provide intuitive pragmatic ratings and reasons without being involved in the situations and to avoid the potential bias effect caused by an interlocutor's perspective. If the subjects were involved in the scenarios as the interlocutors, they might have translated the appropriateness judgement task into "how likely or often would *I* personally make such a statement under the situation." In such a case, fearing that they would be judged personally by their ratings and reasons, they would have the inclination to project what they thought to be a more desirable image, which could conceal their authentic opinions for the statements. In addition, the subjects were also advised that, in this study, no answer was right or wrong and that the investigator was simply interested in obtaining their intuitive opinions on the statements; therefore, they were encouraged to be subjective in giving their responses.

The EFL group was offered the option to respond in Chinese when giving metapragmatic reasons to allow the subjects to fully express their opinions without the possible constraint caused by using a foreign language. As a result, most EFL subjects opted to respond in Chinese. The MJT questionnaire took the native speakers and the EFL learners approximately 20 to 25 minutes to complete.

MJT Data, Analyses, and Findings

The MJT questionnaire survey yielded quantitative data (metapragmatic ratings) and qualitative data (metapragmatic reasons). I approached the quantitative ratings first for the general picture, by calculating the frequency distributions, computing the chi-square for the 24 statements both individually and in combination, and investigating correlations of descriptive statistics within and across groups. The quantitative data were intended to generate preliminary findings about statement features pertaining to pragmatic appropriateness. After the preliminary quantitative findings, the qualitative responses were categorized and analyzed to account for the preliminary observations and to obtain more in-depth insights into the metapragmatic construct of refusals and the subjects' metapragmatic judgement criteria. The integration of the quantitative and the qualitative data involved synthesizing the ratings and the reasons to make speculations on the subjects' sociocultural beliefs regarding language use and the causes of cross-cultural pragmatic failure.

Quantitative Data: Statement Ratings

Methods of Analysis

For each language group, individual subjects' ratings for each of the 24 statements were entered into a spread sheet as the raw data (see Appendix J). The raw data were analyzed with descriptive and inferential statistics within and across the two subject populations.

Descriptive Statistics

Three descriptive statistics were computed in order to summarize the raw data:

1. Mean: The mean is the central tendency representing the average rating on the five point scale for each statement within the language group. The mean of a statement suggests its numerical level of pragmatic appropriateness as considered by the

group. This statistic would be used for statement-wise and group-wise comparisons.

2. Standard Deviation (SD): The SD represents the range of variability around the central tendency. For a refusal statement in the questionnaire, the SD would suggest how clustered or spread out the appropriateness ratings were as indicated by a group. Consequently, the size of the SD would imply the extent to which the subjects in the group had varied opinions over the appropriateness of a statement. In conjunction with the means, this information would be useful in providing the picture for a statement's appropriateness level and the rating congruity across subjects in the group.
3. Frequency Distribution: The frequency distribution would indicate the occurrence of each rating level (ranging from 1 to 5) as used by the subjects to mark statement appropriateness. Where as the SD could suggest the range of variability, the frequency distribution would provide the breakdown of the ordinal measurements of the rating scale and thus enable us to identify the modes and visually compare the patterns of the ratings.

Inferential Statistics

The above descriptive statistics were used to further explore the implications of the ratings in the following ways:

1. Chi-Square: In processing frequency data and exploring significance of variance, the chi-square is the most commonly used nonparametric test. In the case of the appropriateness scale used in the MJT questionnaire, the ratings were ordinal in that they were order measurements instead of equal increments. Therefore, the chi-square would be a proper analysis to help in determining whether the ratings given by the two populations differ significantly or by chance.
2. Correlations: Two correlations were computed for the ratings within and across the

population groups.

(1) Correlation of means and SD's: The purpose of correlating the statement means and the SD's was to examine whether the average degree of appropriateness coincided with rating congruity. Given the possibility that statements with a certain appropriateness level tended to receive more similar or spread ratings, this statistics would be helpful in answering the question "Is there a relationship between how appropriate a statement is considered to be and how its ratings tend to differ?"

(2) Correlation of native-speaker (NS) group means and EFL group means: In addition to chi-square analysis, the scattergram portraying the interrelation of the groups' appropriateness means would provide a visual presentation of the variance.

Findings

Cross-Group Comparison

To obtain the general picture, analyses were conducted first with the 24 statements combined. The analyses included correlation of group means, frequency distributions, and chi-square.

The correlation of the NS and EFL group means on the 24 statements (see Appendix K) is high (r= .87), suggesting that the two groups generally agree on their mean ratings of the statements. Also, as illustrated in Figure 1, the frequency distribution of the groups' rating tallies with all statements combined indicate a rating level of four on the five-point scale as the mode for both groups. In addition, the bar chart representing the frequency distribution in Figure 1 shows very similar patterns for the two groups. Consequently, these statistics at a general level indicate that the two groups are congenial on their metapragmatic ratings.

Figure 1. **Chi-Square Analysis: The English NS & the Chinese EFL Groups' Rating Tallies on the Five-Point Scale (24 Statements Combined)**

Contingency Table Analysis

Summary Statistics

DF:	4
Total Chi-Square:	**23.003 p = .0001*****
G Statistic:	23.024
Contingency Coefficient:	.065
Cramer's V:	.065

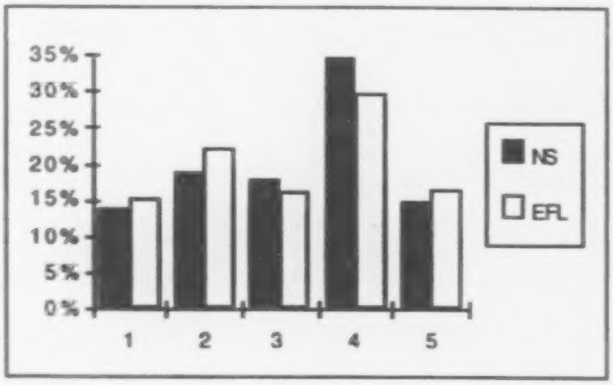
Observed Frequency Table

	NS	EFL
Rating=1	349	449
Rating=2	469	658
Rating=3	447	487
Rating=4	863	883
Rating=5	371	493
Totals:	2499	2970

Percents of Column Totals

	NS	EFL
Rating=1	13.966%	15.118%
Rating=2	18.768%	22.155%
Rating=3	17.887%	16.397%
Rating=4	34.534%	29.731%
Rating=5	14.846%	16.599%
Totals:	100%	100%

Numbers of Subjects:
NS = 106
EFL = 126



However, as shown in Figure 1, the chi-square analysis of the groups' ratings with all statements combined yielded a value of strong significance (p= .0001), implying that the two groups, although seemingly congenial on their means of ratings, actually differ very significantly on individual subjects' ratings across statements. This difference would not have been revealed if we had looked at only the means and ignored the possible variance at the level of individual ratings. Given the similarity observed in the group rating means, we can say that the two groups showed generally compatible rating results. However, given the significant difference indicated by the chi-square analysis, we see a clue suggesting that the detailed picture may actually digress from the general one and that we need to look into the individual ratings and statements to compare the two groups' patterns.

At the level of individual statement analysis, the two groups were compared on their frequency distributions, chi-squares, statement means, and SD's.

First, the group modes were examined. The mode would the level on the five-point rating scale where the highest frequency count was found. The purpose of examining the group modes was to investigate what the majority of the subjects in each group considered the appropriateness level of a statement to be. In Appendix L, the bar charts representing the frequency distributions of individual statements show that, for 8 out of 24 (i.e. 33%) statements, the two groups demonstrate different rating modes on the five-point scale. Out of these eight statements, five (i.e. Statements I-A, III-A, IV-C, IV-E, & IV-F) have the group modes falling on the opposite ends of the scale, and three (i.e. Statements I-F, II-D, & III-C) on the same end of the scale.

To capture the difference more precisely, in addition to the comparison of modes, the chi-squares were analyzed for the two groups on individual statements (see Appendix L). This analysis reveals more group differences than the above. For 13 out of 24 (i.e. 54%) statements, the chi-squares shows that the two groups differ significantly. Specifically, group differences are found in Statements I-A, I-B, I-F, II-B, II-C, II-D, III-

A, III-B, III-C, IV-A, IV-C, IV-E, & IV-F, and the levels of differences for the majority of these statements are extremely high (p<.0005). With the chi-square analysis, the two groups are found to differ even more than they seemed to be in the mode comparison.

Given these observations, the next questions, then, would be how the two groups differ, and whether there exists a pattern in the differences. The answers to these questions involve the comparison of group means and SD's.

The comparison of the group means for individual statements (see Appendix M) shows that the NS group has an average mean (3.178) higher than the EFL group (3.104), and the difference is .074 out of the 5 points on the scale. Specifically, NS means are found to be higher than EFL means on 15 out of the 24 statements. This consistent difference discovered across most statements suggests that the NS group tended to consider the statements as being more appropriate than the EFL group. This tendency is based on group averages. However, how well do the averages reflect individual variances? In other words, how strongly would individual subjects in each group conform to the average? The analysis of SD's would reveal additional details.

The analysis of group SD's for individual statements (see Appendix M) shows that the NS group had an average SD (0.918) lower than the EFL group (1.029), and the difference is 0.112. Specifically, the SD's for the NS group are found to be lower than those for the EFL group on 21 out of the 24 statements. This highly consistent difference discovered in almost all statements indicates that, in most cases, the EFL subjects gave more varied ratings than the NS subjects.

With the combination of the group SD analysis and the average mean comparison, the picture appears to be that, for the majority of the statements, the NS group gave higher appropriateness ratings than the EFL group and that the NS individual subjects' ratings conformed more than the EFL subjects'. In other words, in comparison with the NS subjects, the EFL subjects considered most statements as less appropriate and their ratings also demonstrated more individual differences within the group.

In summarizing the cross-group comparison, it seems that at the general level, where the statements are combined for analysis, the two groups are found to be homogeneous as indicated by their mean correlation and frequency distributions. However, at a more detailed level, where the statements are analyzed individually, the two groups demonstrate significant differences. The patterns discovered in the differences include that (1) the NS group on average rated most statements as more appropriate than the EFL group, and (2) within the groups, the EFL subjects showed more individual rating differences. These observations are helpful in exploring statement characteristics and features pertaining to the group differences.

Statement Feature Exploration

For at least two reasons, the appropriateness ratings given by the groups serve as good indicators for investigating the construct of refusals. First, statements that received high appropriateness ratings from each group could be examined to discover characteristics that might contribute to the high ratings, and the same analysis could be done for statements with medium and low appropriateness ratings. From these analyses, hypotheses could be made about the groups' appropriateness judgement criteria. Second, the observed judgement criteria of one subject group could be compared with those of the other group, and the comparison would provide insights to the similarity and/or difference of the groups.

To facilitate the analysis, for each subject group, the refusal statements were ranked according to their rating means. Table 2 shows the rank orders of the 24 statements for the NS and the EFL groups. The appropriateness-means continuum formed with the ranked statements is divided into three levels: high, mid, and low, each of which includes eight statements. Statements in each of the three levels are compared across the groups to discover what the groups ranked in common within the level.

Table 2
Ranks of Appropriateness Means (from the Most to the Least Appropriate) for the English NS and the Chinese EFL Groups

	NS	EFL	NS/EFL in common
statements with HIGH means (top 1/3)	mean range: 4.298 - 3.827 III-E I-C IV-B III-C II-A IV-D IV-A III-B	mean range: 4.476 - 3.849 III-C III-E II-D IV-B II-A I-C I-F IV-D	I-C II-A III-C III-E IV-B IV-D
statements with MID means (mid 1/3)	mean range: 3.558 - 3.308 I-F I-A II-D IV-F III-A IV-C II-C I-E	mean range: 3.270 - 2.758 I-E IV-A III-B IV-E III-A II-C I-A IV-F	I-A II-C III-A IV-F
statements with LOW means (bottom 1/3)	mean range: 2.721 - 1.095 III-F I-B I-D IV-E II-B II-E III-D II-F	mean range: 2.648 - 1.202 III-F II-B IV-C I-D I-B III-D II-E II-F	I-B I-D II-B II-E II-F III-D III-F

As indicated in Table 2, generally, the NS and the EFL groups share many statements in common at the high, the mid, and the low levels of appropriateness means. These statements at each level must have carried certain features that caused them to be considered by both groups to carry high, mid, or low appropriateness. Consequently, looking into what the statements at each level have in common, we could obtain insights into how the forms of the refusal statements affect their pragmatic appropriateness.

High Appropriateness Statements

Of the statements at the high appropriateness level, NS and EFL rated six in common. These six statements are I-C, II-A, III-C, III-E, IV-B, and IV-D. They demonstrate a few characteristics, as discussed below.

All of these six refusal statements were originally made by native speakers of English in the aforementioned DCT study, in which refusals were collected by having subjects of different language backgrounds respond to scenarios. Given that both NS and EFL subjects considered native refusal statements to be of high appropriateness, the implications seemed to be that

- Native speakers, unsurprisingly, were better able to use the language in a well-rounded manner (according to the standard of English-speaking community) to convey refusals;
- Native speakers tended to find refusals carried out by other native speakers more appropriate than refusals by nonnative speakers; and
- The Chinese EFL speakers, although they did not have native command of the target language, seemed to intuitively prefer native refusals and conformed with native speakers on their pragmatic appropriateness judgement. This also implies that the Chinese EFL subjects, at the performance level, might not always produce pragmatically sophisticated statements; at the competence level, however, they do

have a "feel" for what is pragmatically appropriate in the target language. This implication is a significant one as it suggests where the gap is and the need to bridge what the EFL learners *know* about the language with what they *do* with the language.

The high-appropriateness statements also entail more *elaboration* than their low-appropriateness counterparts. Take for instance Statements III-E and IV-B. In response to Scenario III, about refusing the guest's offer to clean up coffee spilt, Statement III-E states "No, no. Don't worry. I have some handy cleaning stuff I use for stuff like that. Sit still and keep talking. I'll get it." Whereas in response to Scenario IV, about refusing the roommate's request for borrowing the vehicle, Statement IV-B states "I'm sorry, but I don't feel comfortable loaning out my car for long trips. Besides, I need it this week. How would I get around?" Composed of five and four sentences respectively, Statements III-E and IV-B are the most elaborated among the responses to the scenarios in term of the length and the number of ideas mentioned. Although it would not be proper to assume that the longer the statement, the more appropriate it would be, the elaboration in the statements does allow for a more well-rounded explanation in conveying refusals so as for the speaker to avoid being abrupt. In addition, the elaborated statements contained multiple reasons or excuses and thus are perhaps more convincing refusals than the brief statements.

Another characteristic observed among the high-appropriateness statements is that they *suggest alternatives*. Take for example Statements I-C and II-A. In response to Scenario I, about refusing to lend out class notes, Statement I-C states "I need them to study from. *Maybe someone in your study group can loan you the notes...*" And in response to Scenario II, about declining a dinner invitation, Statement II-A states "Well, I can't that night. But, *could we go to lunch Tuesday together?*" By suggesting an alternative, the speaker conveys an intent to remedy the negative feeling caused by the refusal, and the friendliness indicated by this gesture might have contributed to the statements' high appropriateness ratings.

Mitigating undesirable outcomes is also observed to be a feature for high appropriateness statements. This feature is particularly relevant in the case where the interlocutor causes certain inconvenience or damage and the speaker comforts the interlocutor by alleviating the interlocutor of blame or full responsibility. Scenario III, in which the speaker rejects the guest's offer to clean up coffee spilt, would be such a case. In this scenario, Statements III-C and III-E received high appropriateness ratings from both NS and EFL subjects. In these two statements, the speaker lets the guest "off the hook" and puts him/her at ease by minimizing the undesirable outcome of the coffee spilt. For instance, in Statement III-C, the speaker reassures "Don't worry. *Really. It's nothing at all.* I'll get it *in a minute*," and in Statement III-E, the speaker reduces the damage by saying "No, no. Don't worry. *I have some handy cleaning stuff I use for stuff like that...*" In reducing the effect of the undesirable outcome, the speaker helps the interlocutor lessen the guilty feeling, and this gesture might have contributed to the high appropriateness of the statements.

Yet another observation about high appropriateness statements is that the speaker tends to *impersonalize or externalize the refusal.* This conveys an overtone with a nature of "this is not because of you," "I can't help it," or "the refusal is really inevitable" and thus avoids offending the interlocutor. Take for instance Statements IV-B and IV-D, both responses to Scenario IV, about refusing to lend out the vehicle. In Statement IV-B, the speaker impersonalizes the refusal by stating the inability (i.e. ". . . I don't feel comfortable loaning out my car for long trips. . .") instead of hinting personally that the interlocutor cannot be trusted. Likewise, in Statement IV-D, the speaker states the refusal as a matter of principle that applies to not only the interlocutor (i.e. ". . . I made a *policy* not to lend my car to *anybody*. . .") and therefore refrains from getting personal with the interlocutor. In addition, in both statements, the speakers validate the refusals by implying that the refusal is due to some pre-existing condition or external circumstance (i.e. ". . . I need it this week. . ."). By impersonalizing and externalizing the refusal, the speaker suggests the lack of control over the situation and thus the refusal is hoped not to be translated into unfriendliness.

In summary, all statements rated as appropriate by both groups are refusals originally made by native speakers of English in the DCT study. The high appropriateness features observed in the statements include elaborating with explanation, suggesting alternatives, mitigating undesirable outcomes, and impersonalizing/externalizing refusals. These observations can also be viewed with and supported by the notion of face (Brown and Levinson, 1978), as discussed in Chapter Two. According to the face principle, two aspects of people's feelings are involved in communication. One is the desire of the individual not to be imposed on, which is the "negative face," and the other, the "positive face," is the desire of the individual to be liked and approved of. In other words, interlocutors should make effort to reduce negative feelings and promote positive interactions in communication so as to maintain pleasant interpersonal relationships. In refusing, when one elaborates with explanations, one attempts to mitigate the possible unfriendly connotation in the refusal and thus protects his/her own positive face. Also, when suggesting alternatives with refusals, one conveys the intention to "help out" in other ways, and this intention is also an expression to maintain the person's positive face. Furthermore, in mitigating the undesirable outcome and impersonalizing/externalizing refusals, one helps the interlocutor decrease the uncomfortable or embarrassing feeling and thus protects the negative face of the interlocutor.

The above features for high appropriateness statements find contrasts with the characteristics in statements of low appropriateness.

Low Appropriateness Statements

As suggested in Table 2, the NS and the EFL groups rated seven statements in common as inappropriate. These seven statements are I-B, I-D, II-B, II-E, II-F, III-D, and III-F. They demonstrate a few characteristics as discussed below.

First of all, whereas all the aforementioned high-appropriateness statements were made by native speakers, all the statements with low appropriateness means were originally collected from nonnative speakers in the DCT study. This suggests that the EFL raters conformed with the NS raters on their metapragmatic judgements and considered refusals carried out by nonnative speakers as less appropriate. Another implication is that, while not always being able to use the target language in a pragmatically sophisticated manner, the EFL subjects seemed to have an intuitive sense for what would be pragmatically inappropriate in the target language. This again suggests the nonnative/EFL speakers' knowledge for pragmatic appropriateness in the target language and also demonstrates the discrepancy between their pragmatic competence and their pragmatic performance.

One observation about the statements rated as inappropriate by both subject groups is that they generally *fail to provide clear and relevant information* in the refusals and therefore cause the refusals to sound obscure or unaccounted for. Take for instance Statements II-B and III-F. In declining a friend's dinner invitation, the speaker in Statement II-B says "I don't want to go out at night," which provides no explicit reasons for the refusal and thus perhaps would not be a well-rounded response to the goodwill extended by the friend's invitation. Likewise, in Statement III-F, when declining the guest's offer to clean up coffee spilt, the speaker states "I'm going to buy the cleaning kit later," which would seem to be too obscure to convey the refusal and also irrelevant to the context. When a statement fails to communicate the intent of the refusal clearly, it fails to serve the basic pragmatic function of saying *no* and might therefore be considered inappropriate.

Sometimes the speaker, in attempting to account for or validate the refusal, would come across as *judging* the interlocutor. This would be the case for Statements I-B, I-D, and III-D. In refusing to lend out class notes, the speaker of Statement I-B remarks "I think you should think about what you are doing," and the speaker of Statement I-D states "You should've taken notes by yourself!" Whereas in declining the guest's offer to clean up coffee spilt, the speaker of Statement III-D says "Let me do it. You'll only make matters worse." These statements, in addition to, or instead of, conveying the refusals, carry an overtone of judging or criticizing the interlocutor and thus "go overboard" pragmatically.

In contrast with mitigating unpleasant outcomes as a feature of high appropriateness, some of the inappropriate statements *stress the undesirability* of the possible outcome as a means to indicate refusals. The aforementioned Statement III-D, "Let me do it. You'll only make matters worse," would be an example, in which the speaker hints at the incompetency of the interlocutor and the possible complication of the situation, so as to decline the interlocutor's offer to help. Although the refusal is clearly carried out, the interlocutor would not appreciate the way in which the refusal is conveyed.

Yet another inappropriate feature is that the speaker *invades the personal matters* of the interlocutor's when conveying refusals. In declining a friend's dinner invitation, the speaker of Statement II-E forthrightly asks "Is your husband/wife going to be there? If so, no. Thanks," and the speaker of Statement II-F bluntly suggests "Why don't you get a divorce?" Indicating dislike about someone's spouse can be taken highly personally; implying one's unwise choice of spouse invades this most personal matter. A refusal, in all its need to find support, does not have to entail personal invasion even in the most joking manner.

In summary, all statements rated by both groups as inappropriate are refusals collected from nonnative speakers. The features observed in these inappropriate refusals include the failure to provide clear and relevant information in the refusal, judging the interlocutor, stressing the undesirability of the possible outcome, and invading the interlocutor's personal matters. Viewed with the notion of face, these features also find support for their pragmatic inappropriateness. For instance, in refusing, it is assumed to be the speaker's responsibility to provide an explanation as an intent to rationalize the inconvenience caused by the refusal and to show the speaker's desire to remain likable to the interlocutor. When the speaker fails to provide reasonably clear and relevant account for the refusal, the intent to remain likable is not conveyed and thus the speaker's positive face is damaged. However, if the speaker alludes to the interlocutor's certain undesirable character or deed as a means to account for the refusal, the speaker would be judging or criticizing the interlocutor in addition to refusing. In so doing, the speaker offends the interlocutor's negative face (by imposing on the interlocutor) as well as the speaker's own positive face (by being unamiable). Likewise, when the speaker projects a possible, undesirable outcome that the interlocutor might cause as a way to convey refusal, the speaker indicates lack of trust, implies the incompetency of the interlocutor, and thus risks the speaker's as well as the interlocutor's faces. Of course, when the speaker goes so far as to invade the interlocutor's most personal matter in expressing refusals, serious pragmatic damage is irrevocably done to both parties' positive and negative face.

We have thus far discussed both the high and low appropriateness features of the statements. These features seem to form counterparts:

High Appropriateness	Low Appropriateness
• elaboration	• lack of clear and relevant information
• helping out with suggesting alternatives	• judging the interlocutor
• mitigating undesirable outcomes	• stressing undesirable outcomes
• impersonalizing refusal	• invading personal matters with refusal

These high- and low-appropriateness counterparts provide insights into the construct of refusals. However, these features are hypotheses based on the linguistic expressions of the refusals, and there are a few questions to be asked. First, these features are observed in statements rated by both the NS and EFL groups to be (in)appropriate. However, for what reasons are the features associated with pragmatic (in)appropriateness? Apparently, the features are generalizations from the *forms* of refusal statements; the sociocultural *meanings* underlying the forms are yet to be explored. In addition, how can one realize the features in a refusal? For instance, knowing *elaboration* to be a contributor to pragmatic appropriateness, how would one actually elaborate when refusing, and which aspect of the refusal should one (not) elaborate on? And, most importantly, how well do the hypothesized features reflect the subjects' metapragmatic criteria? Despite the general contribution the features made to understanding the construct of refusal, these questions suggest the need to link the observation on the construct with the language users' perspectives. This entails the analysis of the qualitative data and will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

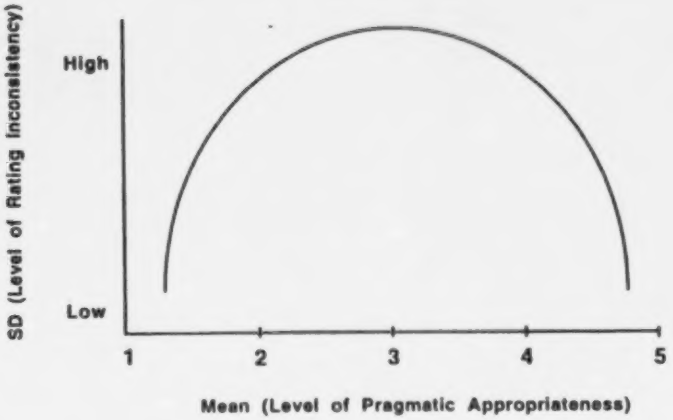
Statements with Undecided Appropriateness -- Pragmatic Limbo

Also as indicated in Table 2, the NS and the EFL subjects rated the appropriateness of four statements in common as generally undecided. These four statements are I-A, II-C, III-A, and IV-F, all of which were collected from nonnative speakers. These statements differ from the above high- and low-appropriateness statements in at least two ways.

First, in some refusal statements, the speakers confront the situations by stating the bare truth rather than coming up with an excuse. The way in which the truth is stated is fairly succinct; however, the pragmatic gestures behind the statements at the same time seem ambiguous enough to leave much to the interlocutor's interpretation. For instance, in refusing to lend out class notes, the speaker of Statement I-A remarks "If I lend my notes to you, it is unfair to me and others who come to class regularly," which, according to the scenario, is the actual reason rather than an excuse for not lending out the notes. Also, in declining a friend's dinner invitation, the speaker of Statement II-C replies "You know I don't get along with your husband/wife. It'll be awkward when we are together," which, likewise, is the speaker's actual reason for refusing. In these two statements, the speakers indicate the truth behind the refusals (cf. excuses such as "I need them (the notes) to study from . . ." in Statement I-C and ". . . my husband and I are going to a concert . . ." in Statement II-D). The manner in which the bare truth is stated lends itself to multiple interpretations. Although some raters might find the boldness in stating the truth too unpleasant to the ear, other raters seemed to be able to take the candidness non-maliciously. Although stating the truth is a common feature in these statements, there seem to exist other compounding elements in the statements, such as alluding to undesirable outcomes and hinting dislike of one's spouse. These compounding elements interact with the feature of stating the truth, and the complication might have caused the ratings to vary. As a result of the raters' diverse metapragmatic reactions, the appropriateness means of these statements average out and fall on or near the middle (i.e. "undecided") of the five point scale.

Also, in some statements, the speakers express the refusals so frankly that they are almost spelling *no* to the interlocutor. In Statement III-A, the speaker tells the guest ". . . I *don't* want my guests to clean up anything," and in Statement IV-F, the speaker responds to the request by saying ". . . I *can't* lend you my car." These "I don't" and "I can't" refusals, according to the taxonomy established by Beebe et al. (1990) (see Appendix A), fall into the direct category. Although in some studies, direct refusals tend to be considered as less felicitous than indirect expressions, in this MJT study, the tendency does not seem to apply to all raters. Similar to telling the bare truth in refusing, not all subjects found direct refusals infelicitous. The mixed reactions might also be related to the possibility that, in these statements, the directness of the statements is not specifically associated with any features that are clearly (in)appropriate, and the raters might not consider the directness by itself to be an appropriateness deciding factor and thus vacillated on their metapragmatic judgements. For example, in some statements with direct refusals, the speakers do not offer alternatives to help nor do they make judgmental comments to criticize; the refusals are not embellished with elaboration nor do they entail irrelevant information. The lack of clear characteristics in the statements might have caused the raters' opinions to vary or be indecisive as to where the speakers stand pragmatically. This in turn contributed to the mixed metapragmatic reactions, and the rating average thus turns out to indicate "undecided" as the appropriateness level.

Furthermore, the NS and EFL subjects' metapragmatic ratings on the statements of undecided appropriateness vary in a much greater scale than their ratings on other statements. This observation finds support in the relationship between the means and SD's of statements (see Appendix N). As indicated by the correlation scattergrams, for both NS and EFL groups, the closer a statement's mean is to either end of the five-point appropriateness scale, the lower its SD value; the closer a statement's mean is to the center of the five-point scale, the higher its SD value. In other words, the subjects' opinions tend to be more consistent (at least within their own group) when a statement is considered on average to be highly (in)appropriate, and the subjects' opinions are found to vary more greatly when a statement's appropriateness is generally undecided. Consequently, on the five-point appropriateness scale, the scattergrams arch in the middle, where the SD values rise. The NS and EFL scattergrams of statement means and SD's demonstrate the same pattern and can be summarized with a prototype:



At the top of the arch, where the appropriateness level is medium, a "pragmatic limbo" seems to exist, in which the pattern of the statements is rather elusive. As discussed, no evident features are clearly observable or easily characterizable across these statements, perhaps due to the complication of multiple and interacting factors. Hypotheses made from statements of high- or low-appropriateness (i.e. those that fall on either end of the arch) contribute to the understanding of the refusal construct. The pragmatic limbo, on the other hand, implies the complexity in the raters' metapragmatic criteria and thus indicates the need for an analysis beyond the numerical ratings. For instance, what were some factors the subjects considered when they rated the statements? How might the various factors interact with each other? And which factors were the major ones that outweighed others to become the deciding criteria for the raters' metapragmatic judgement? Once again, these questions call for the analysis of the raters' metapragmatic reflections.

The hypotheses and observations discussed above are based on the statements the NS and the EFL subjects rated in common. There are, however, a few statements that the two groups rated noticeably differently. The discrepancy in the ratings might demonstrate a pattern or suggest an additional focus for the exploration of the qualitative data.

Statements with NS/EFL Rating Discrepancy

There are statements in the MJT questionnaire that received distinctively different appropriateness ratings from the two subject groups. In Table 2, for both groups, the statements are ranked according to their appropriateness means. Comparing the ranks may reveal statements that were rated very differently by the two groups (see also Appendix M for rank difference). Suppose a statement is ranked to have the second highest appropriate mean as rated by one group and the fourth highest appropriateness mean as rated by the other group, the ranking difference then would be 2. One may question why the rank orders instead of the actual means were compared. The reason is related to the aforementioned finding that the NS subjects tended to give higher ratings than the EFL subjects, and it would thus be more sensible to compare where a statement stands in the NS/EFL internal rank orders instead of calculating the raw difference of the NS and EFL means.

In comparing the ranks, three statements were identified to have noticeably large discrepancies between the appropriateness ranks indicated by the two groups. These three statements are I-E, II-D, and IV-E (see Appendix M). Whereas other statements all have a NS/EFL rank difference less than 4, these three statements have rank differences as large as 7 and 8. In addition to the difference in NS/EFL rankings, the three statements also contradict the rating patterns observed earlier -- whereas the NS group rated the majority of the statements higher than the EFL group, the three statements occupy higher appropriateness rankings in the EFL group than in the NS group.

Given the characteristic differences, what qualities do these three statements actually possess? They possess at least three different pragmatic features: excuses, insinuation, and avoidance. In declining a dinner invitation, the speaker of Statement II-D, instead of revealing the actual reason, uses an excuse, "I'm sorry, but my husband and I are going to a concert. We bought the tickets a long time ago . . ." In refusing to lend out class notes, the speaker of Statement I-E, instead of directly expressing a refusal, insinuates the unwillingness, "If you had been in class, they (the notes) would make sense to you." In response to the request of borrowing a vehicle, the speaker of Statement IV-E, instead of replying immediately, opts for postponement by saying, ". . . I'll give you my answer later." Given that the EFL group rated these three statements consistently higher than the NS group, it seems excusing, insinuating, and avoiding appeared to be more appropriate to the EFL subjects than they did to the NS subjects. These three features also have in common the quality of indirectness. Could this be taken to suggest that the EFL subjects favored indirectness in refusals more than the NS subjects did? Would indirectness be simply a choice of pragmatic strategy that the EFL group preferred, or could it suggest a more profound, underlying difference of language use between the two groups? Could the three features be integrated in a manner to present a clearer, more holistic picture about the observed rating differences and about the two groups? Apparently, the three statements on which the NS and EFL subjects' opinions differed serve as an additional focus in the forthcoming analysis of the qualitative data.

In addition to the statements with rating discrepancy, the questions raised from the high/low appropriateness features as well as the "pragmatic limbo" phenomenon also point out directions for analyzing the qualitative data.

To summarize, the comparison of the two groups' ratings shows that, with the exception of three statements, the two groups generally conformed on their metapragmatic appropriateness judgements. Based on their ratings, hypotheses were made about the features that might have contributed to some statements' high or low appropriateness, and the complexity in the statements with undecided appropriateness was also noted. The hypothesized features for high/low appropriateness include elaboration/lack of clear and relevant information, suggesting alternatives/making judgement, mitigating negative consequence/stressing undesirable outcomes, and impersonalizing/invading personal matters. The complexity noted in the phenomenon of pragmatic limbo is hypothesized to be caused by the ambiguity and the subtle interaction of multiple factors in a statement. These hypotheses and observations generate the following questions:

- What were some factors the subjects considered when they rated the statements?
- How well would the hypothesized features reflect the metapragmatic criteria of the subjects?
- How would the features be associated with pragmatic (in)appropriateness and realized in language use?
- How might the various factors embedded in a statement interact with each other and which were the major ones that outweighed others?
- What would be the implications of the factors in the subjects' perceptions for appropriate language use?

Also, the three statements on which the two groups showed discrepant ratings are related to excusing, insinuating, and postponing. Given the EFL subjects' distinctively and consistently higher ratings on these statements and thus the implication of their favoring the qualities behind the statements, the questions would be:

- Why would excuses, insinuation, and avoidance appear to be more appropriate to the Chinese EFL than the English NS subjects?
- (How) could these three qualities be integrated to form a broader spectrum over language users' metapragmatic criteria and sociocultural beliefs? And how would the spectrum differ from one group to the other?

The above summary of findings from the ratings also projects the purposes for investigating the subjects' metapragmatic reasons for their ratings and their reflections on the statements. With this projection, we are now crossing the border between the construct of refusal and the language users' perceptions, switching the focus from the forms of the statements to the subjects' reactions to the statements, and shifting the analysis from the quantitative to the qualitative part of the data.

Qualitative Data: Raters' Metapragmatic Reasons

Methods of Analysis

The qualitative data are the subjects' open-ended responses that indicate the metapragmatic reasons for rating a statement at a certain appropriateness level. The method for analyzing the qualitative data, guided by the aforementioned purposes, involved two general steps. The first was to summarize the raters' responses by sorting them into categories and comparing them across the subject groups to obtain the general picture for the qualitative data. The second step was to triangulate the qualitative responses with the earlier findings and the emerged questions so as to support or refute the aforementioned hypotheses and to integrate the various aspects of the MJT study for a meaningful interpretation.

Categorizing Responses

First of all, each response the subjects gave to each statement was recorded using both sides of an index card. On the front side, the open-ended response was transcribed. On the back side, the appropriateness the response was associated with was noted, with the sign "+", "?", or "-" to indicate (very) appropriate, undecided, or (very) inappropriate. The reason that the three signs instead of the five numerical ratings were used was that, in the above quantitative analysis, the numerical ratings were already processed. At this stage, only the type of appropriateness (i.e. appropriate, undecided, or inappropriate) was needed to associate with the open-ended responses.

After the responses were transcribed onto the cards, they were sorted into categories. The following was the general categorization procedure for each subject group and each refusal statement:

(1) Form a stack of index cards for a group's responses to a refusal statement.

(2) From the stack of responses, pick the first index card and place it as an unnamed pile.

(3) Pick the second index card, compare the response with that on the previous card by examining whether the natures of the responses share the same main idea so as to determine whether the two cards belong to the same pile.

For instance, the two responses "The truth is always the best way to let someone know what your opinion is." and "I think this is an appropriate answer because this is exactly what he thinks and feels, and he's telling the truth." share generally the same ideas of telling truth and would thus belong to the same pile.

(4) Continue with successive cards.

(5) For cards that do not fit into any existing pile, place them in a miscellaneous pile.

(6) Continue Steps 4 and 5. When about half of the cards are sorted, review cards in each pile to ensure that they conform to a collective idea.

(7) When the cards are exhausted, review sorted cards again to ensure that each pile is distinctive.

(8) Review the unassigned cards in the miscellaneous pile to see if they now fit any established piles.

(9) Name each pile according to the collective, distinctive feature of its cards. This establishes the category of the pile.

In naming the categories, general terms such as "polite" and "rude" were avoided whenever possible, because while it is universally desirable to be polite and not rude, the way one should go about being polite varies pragmatically from culture to culture. Therefore, more specific terms, such as "offering alternatives" or "imposing opinions on others," were used to name the categories as these terms suggest more clearly how the language is used.

Regarding the uncategorizable responses, they were not included in the qualitative analysis because they contained no specific ideas, mentioned no reasons or comments, or simply repeated the description of the scenario. Some examples of the uncategorizable responses include:

- "I think this is an appropriate answer."
- "That's not a nice thing to say."
- "This is probably the best way to say *no*."
- "He shouldn't have to lend the person the notes."

To ensure interrater reliability, an English-Chinese bilingual person was invited to follow the above categorization procedure and sort part of the cards. Due to the large number of cards generated from the responses as well as the amount of time it would have taken to review them, I only had the person sort responses for six statements (approximately 25% of the cards) to examine whether the results of categorizations would match. The interrater comparison on card sorting suggested a very high reliability, 94%. After interrater reliability had been established with card sorting and to ensure that the naming of a category clearly and adequately represented its responses, I showed the person the category names I assigned to the piles. She agreed with approximately 95% of the category names and suggested alternatives for the rest.

After the categories had been established, they were associated with their appropriateness levels. On the back side of each index card, the appropriateness type of the response was noted. A category could be considered as being (very) appropriate, undecided, or (very) inappropriate by different raters, in which case, the category was further divided into different appropriateness types. For instance, the category "direct" could be mentioned by some subjects as appropriate (i.e. with a "+" on the back of the card), whereas some other subjects could be undecided, and some might consider directness as inappropriate (i.e. with a "?" or "-" on the back of the card). Therefore, the category would be sub-divided into the multiple appropriateness types. This would provide additional information as to the types(s) of appropriateness the category was associated with.

Frequency counts were also calculated for each category with each appropriateness type. The calculation excluded uncategorizable responses and was based on the number of times a category was mentioned in the categorizable responses. Some categories had very low frequency counts, mentioned in less than five out of over one hundred responses in each subject group. In this case, the low frequency categories would not be included in discussion as they were assumed to not represent mainstream opinions.

Summarizing the Categories

The categories with their appropriateness types and frequency rates were compared across the subject groups. A table was complied for the comparison. Table 3 lists the major categories for each statements as mentioned by each subject group. In Table 3, the sign "+", "?", or "-" indicates whether the responses of the category were associated with being (very) appropriate, undecided, or (very) inappropriate. Also, the frequency percentage column contains the rates with which a given category was mentioned. Also, excluding uncategorizable responses, only major categories are listed in Table 3, as some categories are very under-represented (with less than 5% occurrence rate), and listing only the major categories facilitated the cross group comparison.

Table 3

Major Categories of English NS & Chinese EFL Responses for Each Refusal Statement

Statements	NS			EFL		
	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %
I-A	• truthful / honest	+	22	• indirect	+	21
	• direct	+	15	• truthful / honest	+	15
	• clear / getting points across	+	12	• blunt	-	18
	• preaching	-	17	• unfriendly	-	12
	• unspecific reply	-	8	• apathetic	-	11
				• uptight	-	7
I-B	• truthful	+	18	• admonishing	+	11
	• unclear	-	21	• unclear	?	9
	• taking superior stand	-	15	• risking face	-	15
	• imposing	-	12	• taking superior stand	-	11
				• apathetic	-	10
				• unclear	-	8
I-C	• suggesting alternatives	+	15	• suggesting alternatives	+	14
	• truthful / honest	+	13	• indirect	+	13
	• clear / getting points across	+	12	• saving face	+	11
	• effective	+	8	• clear / getting points across	+	8
	• avoiding conflict	+	7	• apathetic	-	5
	• dishonest / using excuses	-	9			
	• indirect	-	6			
I-D	• truthful / honest	+	9	• admonishing	+	13
	• indirect	?	8	• truthful	+	7
	• criticizing	-	15	• risking face	-	13
	• violating status	-	13	• direct	-	12
	• imposing	-	12	• confrontational	-	8
	• indirect	-	7	• apathetic	-	7
	• sarcastic	-	5	• character attack	-	5
I-E	• truthful	+	8	• hinting	+	15
	• ambiguous	?	15	• admonishing	+	14
	• irrelevant	-	12	• irrelevant	?	10
	• character attack	-	11	• ambiguous	?	8
	• sarcastic	-	8	• direct	-	8
	• belittling	-	6			
I-F	• explained / elaborated	+	17	• suggesting alternatives	+	20
	• suggesting alternatives	+	15	• indirect	+	15
	• not getting points across	-	10	• hinting	+	14
	• ineffective	-	9	• saving face	+	12
	• dishonest / using excuses	-	7	• wordy	-	8

Statements	NS			EFL		
	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %
II-A	• suggesting alternatives	+	15	• suggesting alternatives	+	14
	• not hurting feelings	+	14	• avoiding	+	14
	• effective / resolving	+	11	• non-confrontational	+	12
	• dishonest / using excuses	?	10	• saving face	+	11
	• postponing	-	8	• hinting	+	10
II-B	• unclear	?	12	• saving face	+	9
	• blunt	-	17	• untruthful	?	10
	• not convincing	-	12	• not convincing	-	13
	• unelaborated	-	12	• unelaborated	-	14
	• dishonest	-	11	• direct	-	11
II-C	• truthful / honest	+	13	• effective / resolving	+	10
	• direct	+	11	• honest	+	8
	• stating feelings	+	8	• non-criticizing	+	6
	• effective / resolving	+	6	• direct	?	6
	• clear	+	6	• risking face	-	14
	• hurting feelings	-	10	• hurting feelings	-	11
	• criticizing	-	10	• causing embarrassment	-	8
	• causing tension	-	7	• character attack	-	5
	• ungrounded	-	6			
II-D	• suggesting alternatives	+	10	• using excuses	+	11
	• convincing	+	9	• suggesting alternatives	+	9
	• not hurting feelings	+	8	• saving face	+	8
	• ineffective / unresolving	?	7	• indirect	+	8
	• dishonest	-	13	• convincing	+	7
	• avoiding	-	9	• non-embarrassing	+	7
II-E	• truthful / honest	+	8	• risking face	-	20
	• criticizing	-	18	• hurting feelings	-	16
	• unexplained	-	16	• causing embarrassment	-	14
	• hurting feelings	-	15	• direct	-	11
				• confrontational	-	9
II-F	• invading personal matters	-	12	• risking face	-	13
	• character attack	-	11	• violating status	-	12
	• imposing opinions	-	9	• character attack	-	11
	• risking friendship	-	8	• imposing opinions	-	11
	• irrelevant	-	8	• unkind / inhuman	-	10
	• hurting feelings	-	7	• irrelevant	-	9
	• violating status	-	6	• hurting feelings	-	8
	• ungrounded	-	5			
	• illogical	-	5			

	NS			EFL		
State-ments	**Major Categories**	**Appr**	**Freq. %**	**Major Categories**	**Appr**	**Freq. %**
III-A	• truthful/ honest	+	15	• preserving status	+	17
	• stating feelings	+	9	• hinting	+	11
	• not letting off the hook	-	11	• not letting off the hook	?	15
	• hurting feelings	-	10	• direct	-	12
	• unclear	-	8	• hurting feelings	-	12
	• belittling	-	7	• giving guilt trip	-	8
III-B	• relieving guilt	+	14	• letting off the hook	+	20
	• making light of situation	+	10	• making light of situation	+	14
	• letting off the hook	+	7	• reliving guilt	+	12
	• unclear	?	21	• giving an out	+	10
	• irrelevant	-	18			
III-C	• letting off the hook	+	15	• relieving embarrassment	+	14
	• making light of situation	+	13	• making light of situation	+	13
	• assuring	+	10	• letting off the hook	+	12
	• relieving embarrassment	+	9	• saving face	+	12
	• clear	+	8	• giving an out	+	8
III-D	• belittling	-	13	• causing embarrassment	-	15
	• hurting feelings	-	12	• unbecoming of status	-	14
	• emphasizing mishap	-	12	• not giving an out direct	-	13
	• imposing inferiority	-	11	• belittling	-	11
	• direct	-	9	• criticizing	-	10
	• unbecoming of status	-	8	• direct	-	8
	• uncalled for	-	7			
III-E	• letting off the hook	+	21	• making light of situation	+	20
	• making light of situation	+	18	• non-embarrassing	+	16
	• resolving	+	15	• reassuring	+	13
				• resolving	+	9
III-F	• unclear	?	15	• ineffective	?	12
	• irrelevant	?	11	• unclear	?	9
	• unresolving	?	10	• causing embarrassment	-	16
	• postponing	?	8	• not letting off the hook	-	15
	• not letting off the hook	-	13	• irrelevant	-	9
	• unexplained	-	10			
	• giving guilt trip	-	9			

Statements	NS			EFL		
	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %	Major Categories	Appr	Freq. %
IV-A	• honest	+	16	• impersonalizing	+	8
	• direct	+	15	• honest	+	6
	• effective	+	13	• direct	-	16
	• clear	+	12	• causing embarrassment	-	15
	• impersonalizing	+	9	• apathetic	-	12
IV-B	• truthful	+	14	• elaborated	+	14
	• explained	+	13	• saving face	+	12
	• clear	+	11	• using excuses	+	11
	• direct	+	10	• not hurting feelings	+	9
	• logical	+	8	• clear	?	7
	• not hurting feelings	+	7	• direct	-	12
IV-C	• truthful	+	14	• hinting	+	18
	• direct	+	11	• practical	?	12
	• logical	+	6	• intrusting	?	7
	• projecting neg. outcomes	?	13	• direct	-	16
	• intrusting	?	12	• projecting neg. outcomes	-	14
	• belittling	-	10	• intrusting	-	9
	• using excuses	-	8			
	• hurting feelings	-	7			
IV-D	• explained	+	14	• explained	+	16
	• impersonalizing	+	12	• using excuses	+	13
	• direct	+	12	• saving face	+	12
	• effective	+	11	• impersonalizing	+	11
	• clear	+	9	• apathetic	?	12
	• dishonest / using excuses	?	8	• risking face	-	6
IV-E	• not hurting feelings	+	6	• avoiding	+	15
	• unresolving	-	15	• indirect	+	14
	• dishonest	-	14	• hinting	+	14
	• postponing	-	14	• not hurting feelings	+	12
	• misleading gesture	-	10	• lacking sincerity	-	9
	• perfunctory	-	9			
IV-F	• direct	+	16	• effective	+	13
	• effective	+	14	• unexplained	-	14
	• blunt	+	8	• direct	-	12
	• unexplained	-	13	• getting personal	-	10
				• apathetic	-	6

High Frequency Categories and Themes

In Table 3, across the 24 refusal statements, the NS group has 55 different (major) categories listed, and the EFL 56 categories. Whereas some of these categories are listed only once or twice, some appear highly frequently across statements. The following are the most frequently listed categories for each subject group, with the signs in the parentheses indicating the appropriateness types they are associated with and the numbers showing the tallies of their appearance in the Table.

NS		EFL	
• truthful/honest (+)	11	• direct (-)	11
• dishonest/using excuses (-)	8	• saving face (+)	8
• direct (+)	8	• apathy (-)	6
• clear/getting points across (+)	7	• causing embarrassment (-)	6
• effective/resolving (+)	7	• indirect (+)	5
• ineffective/unresolving (-)	6	• risking face (-)	5
• unclear (-)	5	• truthful/honest (+)	5

Among these high frequency categories, the two groups share some items in common, such as [truthful/honest] and [direct]. Whereas [truthful/honest] carries positive appropriateness to both groups, [direct], interestingly, has the opposite appropriateness values to the two groups. In addition, some of these high frequency categories form counterparts, such as [effective/resolving] with [ineffective/unresolving], [truthful/honest] with [dishonest/using excuses], [clear/getting points across] with [unclear], [direct] with [indirect], and [saving face] with [risking face]. This gives the idea of grouping categories for a more holistic analysis. Therefore, bringing into the picture other categories related to the ones above, we see themes formed by the categories and emerging from the qualitative responses. Embedded in the high frequency categories, the following are the themes most evident in each group:

NS Categories	NS Themes
[truthful/honest] vs. [dishonest/using excuses]	truthfulness
[effective/resolving] vs. [ineffective/unresolving]	effectiveness
[clear/getting points across] vs. [unclear]	clarity
[direct] vs. [indirect]	directness

EFL Categories	EFL Themes
[direct] vs. [indirect]	directness
[saving face] vs. [risking face]	face
[causing embarrassment] vs. [relieving embarrassment]	embarrassment
[truthful/honest] vs. [dishonest/using excuses]	truthfulness

Comparing the themes within and across the groups, we see similarities that embed differences. To both groups, *directness* and *truthfulness* are major themes. However, as suggested in the comparison of major categories, to the English NS group, being direct and stating truth in refusals are metapragmatically more favorable, whereas to the Chinese EFL group, being indirect and using excuses in refusals are metapragmatically more appropriate. Although they operate differently in different groups, *directness* and *truthfulness* to both groups are evidently metapragmatic criteria considered in judging appropriateness. The different ways in which the criteria operate also suggest the two groups' perceptions on language use. In addition to *directness* and *truthfulness*, other themes emerging from the NS group are *clarity* and *effectiveness*, and from the EFL group *embarrassment* and *face*. Both within and across groups, these themes can be interrelated. To the NS group, clear and effective expressions of refusals are desirable, and the focus thus seems to be on the function of the speech act. On the other hand, to the EFL group, the notion of face and the prevention of embarrassment are essential, and the emphasis thus seems to be on the social interaction of the communicators. The contrast of language function based versus social interaction based themes ties in well with the above observation on the NS group's preference for direct and truthful language use and the EFL group's favor for indirect expressions with excuses. This contrast is further evidenced in the forthcoming discussion on language users' perceptions.

Group-Specific Categories

Although not (always) listed with high frequencies, there are categories that appear in only one group and they form an idiosyncracy for the group. These group-specific categories include:

NS Group Specifics	**EFL Group Specifics**
• preaching (-)	• admonishing (+)
• sarcastic (-)	• hinting (+)
• imposing (-)	• saving/risking face (+/-)

Although these categories are specific to one group, they find contrasts that are paradoxically complementary in the other group. For instance, the act of offering advice or giving opinions, which is found in some refusal statements, is considered negatively as *preaching* by the English NS group and positively as *admonishing* by the Chinese EFL group. Insinuating a refusal indirectly is viewed as *sarcastic* and negative to the NS group, whereas it appears appropriate to the EFL group to *hint*. Also, to the NS group, to preach is *imposing*; to the EFL group, to hint is a strategy for saving (or avoiding risking) *face*. From the group-specific categories, certain group idiosyncrasy is observed. For the NS group, in refraining from preaching, sarcasm, and imposition, individuality is valued. For the EFL group, in admonishing, one expresses concern for the interlocutor as a solidifying gesture and does so with a hint so as not to risk face, and an interpersonal bond is intended.

NS/EFL Common Categories

There are also categories common to both groups. Among them, the frequent ones include:

- [explained/elaborated]
- [unexplained/unelaborated]
- [suggesting alternatives]
- [projecting negative outcomes]
- [making light of situation]
- [letting off the hook]
- [impersonalizing]
- [character attack]
- [(not) hurting feelings]

These common categories strike great resemblance with, and thus serve as strong support for, the four sets of hypothesized features derived from the high- and low-appropriateness statements on which the two groups indicated similar ratings. As discussed, the four sets of features that might contribute to a statement's high or low appropriateness are:

- elaboration / lack of clear and relevant information
- suggesting alternatives / making judgement
- mitigating negative consequence / stressing undesirable outcomes
- impersonalizing / invading personal matters

Finding support in both groups' open-ended responses, these features can be viewed as general principles for appropriate language use. By contrastive analysis, as these features reflect the opinions the two groups have in common, they also suggest the area in which the Chinese EFL learners are metapragmatically target like.

The close match of the features with the common categories not only validates the hypotheses based on statements of high and low appropriateness. It also has a significant implication that the metapragmatic ratings (quantitative data) and the open-ended responses (qualitative data) could "talk to each other" and that the individual, multiple findings gathered along the path of analyses can now be pieced together to form a more meaningful, integrated whole.

The following section is an attempt to triangulate findings derived from the ratings with those from the open-ended responses. Since there were questions raised from (and left unanswered in) the analysis of the quantitative data, addressing these questions in light of the observations from the qualitative responses would serve as a sensible approach for integrating the two types of data.

Triangulating Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

As discussed, the analysis of the ratings yielded findings of three general patterns: (1) statements which both subject groups rated in common, with high or low appropriateness suggesting four sets of features, (2) statements which both groups considered to have undecided appropriateness, with high variance reflecting a state of "pragmatic limbo," and (3) statements of excuses, insinuation, and avoidance, on which the groups showed discrepancy in their appropriateness ratings, with the Chinese EFL group favoring the statements more than the English NS group did.

For the first two patterns, which were based on the analysis of the statements that the two groups rated in common, the questions were:

(1) What were the major metapragmatic criteria the subjects considered when they rated the statements, and how well would the hypothesized features reflect these criteria?

(2) How would the features be associated with pragmatic (in)appropriateness and be realized in language use?

(3) How might the various factors embedded in a statement interact with each other and which were the major ones that outweighed others?

(4) What would be the implications of the factors in the subjects' perceptions about appropriate language use?

For the third pattern, which was based on the analysis of the statements that the groups showed discrepant ratings, the questions were:

(5) Why would excuses, insinuation, and avoidance appear to be more appropriate to the Chinese EFL than the English NS subjects?

(6) (How) could these three qualities be integrated to form a broader spectrum over language users' metapragmatic criteria and sociocultural beliefs? And how would the spectrum differ from one group to the other?

Although some of these questions were already referred to in previous discussion, in this section, they will be reconsidered with the focus being integrating the qualitative and the quantitative findings.

The Statement Features and the Subjects' Responses

Regarding the subjects' metapragmatic criteria and their association with the hypothesized statement features, Questions One and Two above can be addressed in two ways: (1) with the themes that emerged from the major categories, and (2) with the match discovered between the statement features and the common categories.

As illustrated, a few themes emerged for each group from the frequently listed categories. For the English NS group, the themes include clarity, directness, truthfulness, and effectiveness; for the Chinese EFL group, the themes include cause of embarrassment, directness, truthfulness, and the notion of face. These themes appear to be the most important factors the groups considered in judging a statement's appropriateness. Therefore, they can be viewed as the major metapragmatic criteria for the groups. Also as discussed, although the groups share some common themes, the themes of the NS group generally suggest that the major criteria of the group tend to be language function based, whereas the themes of the EFL group indicate the most important criteria to be social interaction oriented.

In addition, given the close match between the hypothesized statement features and the common categories, the features appear to reflect the subjects' metapragmatic opinions. In regard to how the features associate with appropriateness and language use, we would need to look into the subjects' actual responses, as the categories are only generalizations and thus limited in providing us the subjects' first-hand reactions to the statements. The following responses are related to the set of statement features *elaboration / lack of clear and relevant information.*

About *elaboration*:

- "This gives a reason that explains, and you are not offending anyone." (NS subject; Statement I-F; appropriateness rating=4)
- "It's appropriate because he explains nicely why he can't come to dinner. This way the friend won't feel bad." (EFL subject; Statement II-D; appropriateness rating=5)
- "He states clearly why he won't lend the notes." (EFL subjects; Statement I-C; appropriateness=4)
- "If you say you can't lend them the car, you should be prepared to elaborate." (NS subject; Statement IV-F; appropriateness rating=2)

About *lack of clear and relevant information*:

- "Unclear. What does buying cleaning kit have to do with cleaning up the mess or reassuring the guest?" (NS subject; Statement III-F; appropriateness rating=1)

- "The person should have offered an explanation so there will be no hard feelings." (EFL subject; Statement IV-D; appropriateness rating=2)
- "They should have said why nights are bad, afraid of the dark, maybe." (NS subject; Statement II-B; appropriateness rating=2)

Apparently, although the function of a refusal is to indicate rejection, a simple *no* would not suffice pragmatically. Appropriate refusal goes beyond (or without) verbalizing *no*. To the subjects, a person making a refusal is, to a certain degree, expected to offer an explanation with a relevant reason. This may be viewed as the speaker's attempt not only to achieve the linguistic purpose of expressing *no* but also to remain interpersonally amiable at the same time. However, in providing explanation and elaboration, what would one (not) say to remain appropriate? This can be tied in with another set of features, *suggesting alternatives / making judgement*. On the one hand, in an appropriate refusal, one may offer suggestions to reduce the undesirability caused by the refusal. On the other hand, although providing reasons is proper, one should refrain from including judgement in the reasons. These "do's and don'ts" about explaining a refusal are alluded to in the responses below.

About *suggesting alternatives*:

- "He sounds like he regrets not being able to go and gives an alternative by saying 'some other time'." (NS subject; Statement II-D; appropriateness rating=5)
- "It's a good response. He can't come, but suggests another time to do something." (EFL subject; Statement II-A; appropriateness rating=4)
- "Polite and appropriate -- not passing judgement or accusing, and actually helps by providing another option." (NS subject; Statement I-F; appropriateness rating=5)

About *making judgement*:

- "You can't tell a person what to do!" (NS subject; Statement II-F; appropriateness rating=1)

- "I see the person judging and criticizing. All he is 'allowed' to do is a *yes* or *no* answer." (NS subject; Statement I-D; appropriateness rating=1)
- "It's a character attack, because you say that they should be in class but you don't have the right to say that." (NS subject; Statement I-B; appropriateness rating=2)

Furthermore, for proper refusals, an attempt should be made to alleviate or avoid alluding to the negative aspect of the situation. In making such an attempt, it is also desirable to generalize the issue so as to impersonalize the refusal, avoid hinting at the interlocutor personally, or invade the personal matters of the interlocutor. These are the points illustrated in the next two sets of features, ***mitigating negative consequence / stressing undesirable outcomes***, and ***impersonalizing / invading personal matters***. These features are referred to in the following responses.

About *mitigating negative consequence*:

- "Deals with problem soothes the guest, offers not only a solution but an extended one, looking past the problem and into the future, adding to the insignificance of the accident." (NS subject; Statement III-E; appropriateness rating=5)

About *stressing undesirable outcomes*:

- "Compounding the guilt already felt by the guest is rude." (NS subject; Statement III-D; appropriateness rating=1)
- "Don't say that something bad may happen and it is a pain. You'll make your roommate feel uncomfortable." (EFL subject; Statement IV-C; appropriateness rating=2)

About *impersonalizing*:

- "This way the roommate doesn't feel as though he's being singled out." (NS subject; Statement IV-A; appropriateness rating=4)
- "Appropriate. Shows no signalization." (EFL subject; Statement IV-D; appropriateness rating=4)
- "Good, because it doesn't make the person think you are denying just him/her." (EFL subject; Statement IV-D; appropriateness rating=4)

About *invading personal matters*:

- "Don't talk about someone else's family." (NS subject; Statement II-E; appropriateness rating=2)
- "Not your business. No right to tell them that." (EFL subject; Statement II-F; appropriateness rating=1)

In addition to supporting the four sets of hypothesized features, the responses quoted above also provide insights to the subjects' metapragmatic reflections and their perspectives on *how* a given statement was considered (in)appropriate.

The above are features pertaining to high and low appropriateness. However, there are statements that fall between the extremes, in a state of "pragmatic limbo." The analysis of ratings revealed that the subjects varied considerably on these statements of undecided appropriateness. Looking into the qualitative responses would be helpful for understanding the nature and the possible causes of the variance.

"Pragmatic Limbo" and the Variance in the Responses

Questions Three and Four concern what would be the interaction of the various factors embedded in a statement, which one(s) were considered by the subjects to be more important, and how the subjects' views on the interaction would reveal their perceptions about proper language use.

In the earlier discussion, the statements with undecided appropriateness were observed to have involved multiple and compounding factors, the interaction of which was thought to contribute to the undecidedness of the statements' appropriateness. The following responses are representative in showing how the subjects vacillated about the appropriateness of the statements:

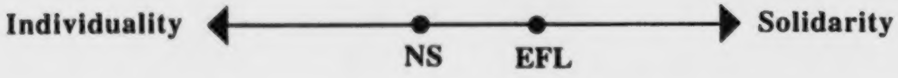
- "Although it's straightforward, it's hard to say because no manners are used and no explanation or compromise is attempted. But then again he doesn't sound rude either and he gets the point across. Overall, it would probably be inappropriate, but I feel it's better because of the honesty." (NS subject; Statement II-C; appropriateness rating=3)

- "This may be a good or bad answer. It's telling the truth honestly. However, it could cause argument and embarrassment because it sounds a bit judgmental. But he is also vague about it." (EFL subject; Statement II-C; appropriateness rating=2).
- "He is apparently spelling *no*. He probably should have told the real reason, which wouldn't be pleasant to hear. Then he probably would have to lie, and that's not a good idea either." (NS subject; Statement IV-F; appropriateness rating=3).
- "I am undecided because the person is not really criticizing but he is not polite either. He seems to be telling the real reason why he won't lend the notes, but that's not very clear." (EFL subject; Statement I-A; appropriateness rating=3).
- "Undecided, because you are being polite and not telling the person the real reason, but then again you are very indirect and completely lying." (NS subject; Statement III-A; appropriateness rating=3).
- "He is telling the truth, but he also sounds like he is criticizing." (EFL subject; Statement I-A; appropriateness rating=3).

In the above responses, we see how the subjects wavered through their reasoning. Whether conscious or unconscious to them, in the task, the subjects identified in the statements the contextual factors they thought were relevant to pragmatic appropriateness, assigned weights to these factors according to their values and beliefs about language use, and reached a decision about the appropriateness of the statement on the whole. This could be a baffling and difficult task for the subjects, as revealed in their vacillation. Methodologically, this, once again, demonstrates the value of the open-ended metapragmatic responses. The numerical ratings, hovering around appropriateness level 3 (as "undecided"), do not tell us much about the internal reasoning of the subjects and the causes of their undecidedness. Insights could be gained into the subjects' metapragmatic reasoning only through their qualitative responses.

In the process of the subjects' vacillation, we see two levels for viewing the pragmatic limbo. The first level, as mentioned by the subjects, was truthfulness: whether to tell the truth and how it should (not) be told in the refusals. This factor is evidently present in the subjects' responses. At the other level, truthfulness interacts with other factors, such as being (in)direct, being (un)clear, causing embarrassment, providing explanation, and passing judgement. The interaction of the multiple factors obscured the appropriateness picture to the subjects. Universally, although it is always desirable to be truthful, truth sometimes is told at the cost of other factors, resulting in one's being blunt, causing embarrassment, hurting feelings, or imposing judgement. Weighing the costs and the gains, some subjects leaned towards truthfulness and some believed other factors overrode truthfulness in the situation. Generally, from their qualitative responses, the NS group seemed to favor truthfulness over other factors, whereas the EFL group was more concerned about the inappropriateness that stating the truth could possibly cause. This observation is validated by the cross-group comparison of the categories for statements with undecided appropriateness. Across these statements, the NS group shows [truthful/honest] as the most frequently mentioned category. For the EFL, on the other hand, the three statements have respectively [indirect], [risking face], and [preserving status] as the most frequently mentioned categories.

In being assertive and stating the truth, one attempts to protest one's individuality. In (conditionally or partially) trading off truthfulness with a certain degree of circumlocution or possibly an excuse, one attempts to preserve face and maintain interpersonal solidarity, which can be risked in a refusal. Individuality and solidarity are both universally desirable. However, in a refusal, they may be in conflict with each other and cause a certain dilemma. On a continuum from individuality to solidarity, the speaker finds a balance point that is the most suitable for the situation as well as the most comfortable to him/her and the interlocutor. From the subjects' responses, it appears that the English NS group's balance point falls towards individuality whereas the Chinese EFL group towards solidarity, as illustrated below:



This opposition of stating the truth for asserting individuality versus employing circumlocution or excuses for maintaining face and solidarity is further evidenced in the ensuing discussion on the groups' discrepancy as reflected in some statements. The difference of the groups' balance points on the continuum also serves as an explanation for the observed discrepancy.

NS/EFL Discrepancy on Excuses, Insinuation, and Avoidance

In the analysis and comparison of NS and EFL ratings, there were statements on which the two groups differed. These statements involve three pragmatic qualities: excuses, insinuation, and avoidance. Whereas the NS group tended to give higher ratings on most statements than the EFL group, the statements with these qualities were considered by the EFL group to be more appropriate than by the NS group. In integrating the ratings with the responses, Questions Five and Six raised earlier concern the reason(s) why the three qualities appeared to be more appropriate to the EFL group than the NS group, whether the qualities are interrelated and can be integrated to present a broader spectrum over the language users' metapragmatic criteria and sociocultural beliefs, and if the spectrum differs for the two groups.

That excuses, insinuation, and avoidance appealed to the EFL group is supported in the group's responses. In the statement that involves excuses (Statement II-D), the response category with the highest frequency is [using excuses] (with "+") for the EFL group and [dishonest] (with "-") for the NS group. In the statement that entails insinuation (Statement I-E), the category with the highest frequency is [hinting] (with "+") for the EFL group and [ambiguous] (with "?") for the NS group. In the statement that contains avoidance (Statement IV-E), the category with the highest frequency is [avoiding] (with "+") for the EFL group and [unresolving] (with "-") for the NS group. The category comparison across the groups on these three pragmatic qualities illustrates clearly why the EFL group rated the statements more appropriate and why there was a discrepancy of ratings between the groups. Apparently, what one group considered appropriate was considered inappropriate by the other. As suggested in the categories of the highest frequencies, to the EFL group, excuses elude unpleasant reality, insinuation prevents enunciating the refusal *ad nauseam*, and avoidance saves confrontation. However, to the NS group, excuses imply dishonesty, insinuation or hint causes ambiguity, and avoidance is unresolving for the situation. The individual responses below help to picture the difference:

EFL responses concerning excuses, insinuation, and avoidance:

- "It's appropriate to make an excuse to turn down the invitation. This way the friend won't know the real reason and it won't damage the relationship."
- "He should make an excuse and refuse with a white lie."
- "This is a good way to say *no* because you don't really say it. You are just suggesting *no*."
- "It would hurt the feelings if you refuse a person at his/her face."
- "(Avoidance) makes it sound hopeful -- a polite way to refuse."
- "Avoids the request and implies *no* at the same time. Good strategy."
- "If you are not giving an answer right away, he should already know it's a *no*."

NS responses concerning excuses, insinuation, and avoidance:

- "Inappropriate because he is making excuses. He should have just told the friend flat out how it is."
- "Escaping the question is not a great idea. He should just try and be honest."
- "Too much beating around the bush. Just tell him!"
- "Avoidance doesn't deal with problem. Postponement is weak and lets the roommate know he/she can be manipulated."
- "Escaping the question is not a great idea. He should just face it and deal with it."

Excuses, insinuation, and avoidance can be viewed as an integrated picture. In refusing, an excuse (or the truth) is *what* the speaker chooses to convey, insinuation (or articulation) is *how* the speaker communicates, and avoidance (or confrontation) reveals the speaker's expectation of how the speech act should *function*. Therefore, the subjects' metapragmatic perceptions about refusals can be characterized with a consolidation of "what to say, how to say it, and how it should function." In light of this integration, the Chinese EFL group's perception about proper refusals can be summarized as "use an excuse, insinuate the refusal, and avoid the confrontation," whereas the English NS group's maxim seems to be "tell the truth, tell it directly, and resolve the situation." Although this may be an overgeneralization, it is probably the best way to simplify the complicated picture of this study.

Given the Chinese EFL group's favoring excuses, insinuation, and avoidance, it is legitimate to question how such a communication style is capable of serving the most basic function of a speech *act* -- getting a point across. In other words, with the great amount of indirectness in excuses, insinuation, and avoidance, would the speaker still be able to communicate the refusal to the interlocutor? Also, one may be interested in examining the reason(s) why the Chinese EFL group prefers such a communication style and what the sociocultural implications would be, so as to account for the metapragmatic differences of the two populations. In the following section, attempts will be made to view the integrated findings in light of language functions, sociocultural constraints, and pragmatic contexts.

Metapragmatic Implications

Double Bind

As the term indicates, speech *acts* carry functions. The function of a refusal is to express *no*. From a functional perspective, a refusal is effectively carried out when the listener gets the message clearly. The cooperative principle, proposed by Grice (1975), suggests the ways in which an effective communication can result. Grice maintains that people try to cooperate with each other when communicating, by intending to be informative, truthful, relevant, and clear. In the cooperative principle, four maxims are stipulated (Grice, 1975, p. 45-47). The first concerns *quantity*; the speaker should make his/her contribution as informative as is required but not more than is required. The second concerns *quality*; the speaker should try to make his/her contribution one that is true, not say what he/she believes to be false or inadequately supported by evidence. The third concerns *relation*; the speaker should make his/her contribution relevant. The fourth concerns *manner*; the speaker should be perspicuous, avoid obscurity and ambiguity, and be brief and orderly. Nonetheless, in refusal, if one were to always follow these maxims, he/she would have been pragmatically inappropriate in many cases. Take the maxim of quantity for instance, saying only what is required certainly contradicts one of the discovered appropriateness features, *explanation/elaboration*, since refusal goes beyond saying *no*. Also, at least to the Chinese EFL group, it would often be more appropriate to employ excuses or circumlocution than stating an unpleasant truth candidly, and this goes against Grice's maxims of quality and manner.

The reason that the cooperative principle does not hold up in these cases is because it is intended only for the most basic function of language -- effective communication. In a speech act, however, more than language is involved. As discussed, the speech act of refusal is by nature face threatening. On the one hand, the linguistic function of saying *no* has to be accomplished. On the other hand, the message *no* can pose threats to the universally common phenomenon of face. Consequently, in refusal, one is likely to find him/herself in a double bind of linguistic function and face. Pragmatic appropriateness of refusal is thus the art of effectively accomplishing the linguistic function without the damage of face to either the speaker or the interlocutor.

Face Effects

Linguistically, although there could exist numerous ways of expressing a refusal, many of them are under sociocultural constraints, and the speaker's choice of expression is thus limited. Face poses constraints on refusal expressions in two ways, with the positive and the negative face. As discussed, the positive face pertains to one's desire to be liked and the negative face one's desire not to be imposed on. Although ideally both types of face should be promoted or maintained, often only one is attended to. Socioculturally and metapragmatically, the English NS group appeared to address the negative face while the Chinese EFL group seemed to address the positive face. Given that categories such as [imposition], [truthful/honest], and [(un)clear] appeared frequently in the NS group's responses, the attempts perhaps were to maintain the interlocutor's negative face (by not imposing judgements) and to protect the speaker's own negative face (by being assertive and clearly stating one's feelings.) For the EFL group, the frequently mentioned categories such as [admonishing] and [hinting] suggest the attempts to promote the positive face; the speaker admonishes the interlocutor to hint care and concern, with the implied message being "I like you and therefore I care to suggest . . ." as a way to address the positive face.

The different effects of the positive and the negative face serve as an explanation to account for the different refusal preferences of the groups. The EFL group's "use an excuse, insinuate the refusal, and avoid the confrontation" and the NS group's "tell the truth, tell it directly, and resolve the situation" address the opposite aspects of face; however, they both demonstrate the effects sociocultural constraints have over language use.

Again from a perspective of linguistic function, one may question how people would still be able to get points across with an indirect communication style such as that of the EFL group? The reason probably has to do with the high or low pragmatic context of the speech community.

High and Low Pragmatic Contexts

For people in a speech community to have an indirect communication style, there has to exist certain tacit and shared understanding for their subtle form-and-meaning association. Commonly known and practiced in the speech community, this tacit understanding allows speakers to say something "off record" (i.e. without being heard to have said it) and thus enables them to better address the principle of (positive) face without the cost of communication breakdown. The tacit understanding is based on the high pragmatic context the community has; it is best illustrated in an EFL subject's response, "If you are not giving an answer right away, he should already know it's a *no*." To speakers in this high pragmatic context speech community, avoidance most likely implies refusal. The Chinese EFL group came from a cultural background of high pragmatic context, and this might have caused them to prefer indirect refusals.

On the other hand, when a speech community has a low pragmatic context, communication is heavily dependent on verbalization, possibly at the cost of (the positive) face. In such a speech community, speakers express messages "on record", directly and clearly with words to ensure effective communication. In so doing, it is not very likely to promote the positive face and only the negative face can be maintained. The need for verbalization in a low pragmatic context speech community is illustrated in a NS subject's response, "He should have just told the friend *flat out* how it is." At least for refusal, the speech community of the English NS group is of low pragmatic context and thus the group's preference for a more direct refusal style.

The high and low pragmatic contexts affect how meanings and forms are associated in language use, and the level of communication also differs from one context to the other.

Levels of Communication

Pragmatics is about language use in associating forms and meanings. While the association is a language universal, the level on which the association is made is probably language- and culture-specific. In a speech community of low pragmatic context, such as that of the NS group's, communication operates at a level where the message is the focus and the information is the most important. In contrast, in a speech community of high pragmatic context, such as that of the EFL group's, communication functions at a level where the communicators are the focus and interpersonal harmony is valued. The difference between *what* is being communicated and *who* is communicating in a way parallels the aforementioned observation that the two groups differ on where they find their points of balance on the continuum of individuality and solidarity.

Naturally, the different communication styles and levels function well *within* the speech community. However, cross-linguistically and cross-culturally, because of the difference in high and low pragmatic context, misunderstanding is likely to occur. The misunderstanding would inevitably entail linguistic miscommunication, in that speakers from different communities talk at different levels; in addition, it could also result in misconception and misjudgment about people from a different community.

Pragmatic Failure

The differences in the positive and the negative face, high and low pragmatic contexts, and levels of communication are the major contributors to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic pragmatic failure. Consider again the "what to say, how to say it, and how it should function" of refusals. The Chinese EFL group's preference for "*insinuating* with *excuses* to *avoid* verbalizing the refusal" is in great conflict with the English NS group's favor for "*directly* stating the *truth* to *resolve* the issue." Very likely, the EFL group's using excuses is viewed as dishonesty by the NS subjects, and the NS group's insistence on telling the truth appears unsuave and unreserved to the EFL subjects. By the same token, what is insinuation to the EFL group is sarcastic to the NS subjects, while what is being direct to the NS group is being blunt to the EFL subjects. Avoidance is considered ineffective to the NS subjects while the EFL group believes facing the issue could cause confrontation. Without understanding or taking into consideration the metapragmatic differences (e.g. in face, contexts, or communication levels), the NS group could very likely judge the EFL group as being unethical simply because of their preference of excuses over truth, and the EFL group could very possibly criticize the NS group as being rude and impolite because they always say things one hundred percent and say it up front!

Apparently, the pragmatic failure occurs because of an *etic* viewpoint, when one sees the language use of a speech community from the outside. As opposed to an etic viewpoint, an *emic* stand is essential to the prevention of pragmatic failure and miscommunication. This entails recontextualization in cross-community communication, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

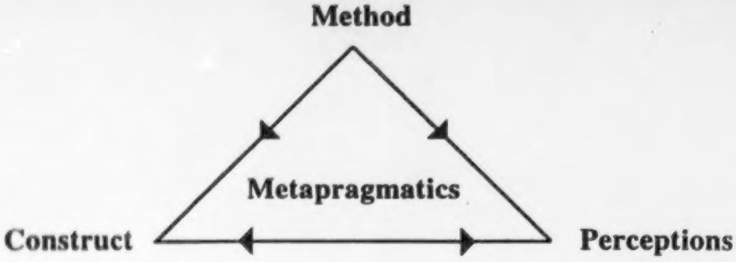
In this chapter, I have metapragmatically discussed the research paradigm of this study, the construct of refusal, and the language users' sociocultural perceptions. In the next chapter, on the significance of and the outlook from metapragmatics, discussion will continue on a more general and extended level, drawing the study's implications on speech act research methods, pragmatic construct, and cross-cultural communication. Suggestions will also be proposed for raising metapragmatic awareness in foreign language learning.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHOD, CONSTRUCT, AND PERCEPTIONS

> The significance of metapragmatics is that it investigates the "culture-specific values and weights of contextual factors, as well as the sociopragmatic values ascribed to alternative realization procedures . . . Situational assessments uncover informants' perceptions of context-external factors . . . and context-internal factors . . ." (Kasper, 1989, p. 50).

The Metapragmatic Triad

In Chapter Four, we discussed metapragmatics as a research method, an investigation on the refusal construct, and an exploration of speakers' sociocultural perceptions. As a research method, metapragmatic exploration of language use is similar to the metacognitive approach as well as the "think-aloud" protocol. It enables one to gain insight into the speakers' internal thought patterns and reasoning processes; it also involves the speakers at more than one level -- not only as the subjects of the study who provided the data but coinvestigators who rated and commented on the instrument. The speakers' metapragmatic reactions to the instrument also reveal their perceptions about how language should be used. The perceptions in turn contribute to our understanding of the refusal construct. The triangulation of research method, refusal construct, and speakers' perceptions forms a metapragmatic triad.



Similar to the interrelation of pragmatics, syntax, and semantics in the linguistics triad mentioned in Chapter Four, in the metapragmatics triad, the method is the structure overarching the study of refusal construct and speakers' perceptions. The construct, seen through the eyes of the speakers, reflects and interacts with the speakers' perceptions. Based on such an intricacy, this chapter will discuss the metapragmatic study at a more general level, drawing implications from the perspectives of research method, refusal construct, and sociocultural perceptions, addressing the two initial research questions posed in Chapter One, and proposing suggestions for rasing pragmatic awareness in foreign language learning and cross-cultural communication.

Metapragmatic Research Method

The Major Strengths

The metapragmatic approach evolved from the different methods in the research inquiry. As described in Chapter Three, at the beginning of the inquiry, observations were made about the discrepancy between what is said and want is meant and about the complexity of refusal in a cross-cultural setting. From the observations, questions were raised regarding the causes of pragmatic failure in refusal and the pattern differences between native and nonnative speakers. To answer these questions, attempts were made to collect speech act data. The first effort was natural data collection, which turned out nonproductive and was thus aborted. Role play was then attempted but many participants opted out of the play-acting and stated instead what they would have said under the scenario situations. The format of their responses suggested the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) as an alternative data collection method. A DCT questionnaire was therefore designed, and native and nonnative speakers of English reacted to the written scenarios by indicating what they thought they would say. Their responses were semantically categorized and compared across groups. The discovered similarities and differences, however, needed to be linked with pragmatic appropriateness, and the semantic categorization of the DCT did not lend itself to providing such an insight. This limitation suggested the approach of eliciting from the speakers their criteria for pragmatic appropriateness. In response to such an approach, the Metapragmatic Judgement Task (MJT) was designed for the speakers to numerically rate refusal statements and open-endedly provide reasons to their ratings. The quantitative and the qualitative aspects of the MJT instrument were piloted in two studies to establish reliability and validity. The data gathered with the MJT were approached with quantitative analysis first, which suggested directions and focuses for exploring the qualitative part of the data. The quantitative and the qualitative data then were integrated for a holistic view.

In a nutshell, this was how the metapragmatic approach came into the picture of the research inquiry. As alluded to, two major strengths of the approach are that (1) instead of being predetermined or created out of a vacuum, it was a design that emerged in response to questions from studies in the earlier stages of the inquiry. Thus, it was able to build on and clarify earlier findings to string together the various studies of the inquiry, and (2) it drew on and integrated the strengths of the quantitative and the qualitative data so that they complemented and validated each other; it also allowed for the back-and-forth shift between the two types of data in forming hypotheses and gathering evidence. These two major strengths correspond well with the two-pronged approach advocated by Wolfson (1986) and the three-phase procedure proposed by Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984), as described in Chapter Two.

Two-Pronged Approach and Three-Phase Procedure

Combining multiple data collection methods is not only a well-rounded way of conducting research but is most essential for investigating an elusive, many-faceted discipline such as pragmatics. For pragmatic research, Wolfson (1986) proposes the two-pronged approach and emphasizes the importance of collecting both qualitative and quantitative data. She points out the value of observation and elicitation methods complementing each other and suggests that the investigator begin with observation, from which initial hypotheses can be formed, and then elicitation instruments are developed to collect data for testing initial hypotheses and refining findings. This approach and her emphasis on incorporating qualitative and quantitative data are in line with the evolution of this study and the design of the MJT.

Likewise, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka stress the importance of gathering and consolidating findings with multiple methods. In the three-phase procedure they proposed (1984), phase one is to collect ethnographic or natural data, both qualitatively and quantitatively. In phase two, the hypotheses from phase one are to be translated into controlled data collection instruments with a focus on the speaker's point of view; at this stage, an open-ended instrument such as the DCT is useful. In phase three, the hypotheses about speech act patterns are to be examined and the focus is to be shifted to the hearer's point of view. At this phase, the investigator will be able to establish the range of appropriateness as reflected in the participants' viewpoints. Although not intended to mimic this three-phase procedure, the MJT design, in following its own course of development, transpires to parallel the procedure.

The two-pronged approach and the three-phase procedure correspond with and lend support to the metapragmatic method. Research-methodologically, the stress is placed upon the importance of employing multiple approaches, involving participants at different levels, integrating both qualitative and quantitative analyses, and refining hypotheses and synthesizing findings through out the stages. The consolidation of the various aspects is particularly important for establishing reliability and validity when studying an intricate discipline.

With the twofold purpose of examining language use and the speakers' reflection thereon, the metapragmatic design serves the multiple functions of investigating refusal forms, speculating their meanings, and exploring the speakers' associations of the two. In the next section, observations on the refusal construct and the speakers' sociocultural perceptions will be reviewed in a broader scope to recap the major findings and to address the two research questions posed in Chapter One.

Construct and Perceptions

As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, metapragmatics investigates "context-internal factors" as well as "context-external factors" (Kasper, 1989, p. 50). In this study, context-internal factors pertain to the scenario situations or the refusal statements; context-external factors are the values and beliefs the subjects brought in to interact with the internal factors. The study's exploration in both context-internal and -external factors, or both the refusal construct and the subjects' perceptions, conforms with Kasper's insight regarding the dual value of pragmatics.

However, the dual value also poses a certain threat. The interdependence of context-internal and -external factors imposes inevitable limitations on the MJT study. The findings on the perceptions are constrained by the scope of the refusal scenarios in the instrument; the perceptions, on the other hand, influence our understanding of the refusal construct. Nonetheless, the limitations were hopefully lessened by the careful selection of the scenarios to ensure their representativeness to the construct and their relevance and commonness to the subjects. Also, the large number of the subjects was helpful in increasing the collectiveness in the groups' opinions and reflections on the construct.

In the cross-group metapragmatic comparisons presented in Chapter Four, the findings can be divided into two parts -- what was commonly agreed upon by the two groups, and what reflected the groups' discrepancies. From the former, statement features were generated that contributed to pragmatic (in)appropriateness of the refusal construct; from the latter, group-specific metapragmatic criteria were observed that suggested the speakers' sociocultural perceptions.

Regarding the construct of refusal, the four sets of statement features served as basic indicators for pragmatic (in)appropriateness across groups. The features are *elaboration / lack of clear and relevant information, suggesting alternatives / making judgement, mitigating negative consequence / stressing undesirable outcomes,* and *impersonalizing / invading personal matters.* However, more factors than these were often present in the refusal, and the picture of the construct was thus complicated by the interaction of the factors and the subjects' views on them. The complication not only indicated the interdependence of the construct and the sociocultural perceptions, it also revealed the discrepancies between the groups' metapragmatic criteria.

Along the analysis of group discrepancies, many questions emerged. However, to distance from the details for a holistic view and in returning to the inquiry's point of departure, consider the two major questions posed for the research in Chapter One:

(1) How do native speakers (NS) of English and Chinese EFL learners differ in their metapragmatics of refusal? (i.e. How do they differ in their opinions on what is pragmatically appropriate for refusal?)

(2) What is indicated by the differences of the two populations' metapragmatics of refusals? (i.e. What patterns, characteristics, attitudes, or beliefs seem to be embedded in the differences?)

These questions can be addressed with the major findings in Chapter Four. Regarding the differences between the English NS and the Chinese EFL groups, discrepancies were discovered in the following areas:

- Themes that emerged from the open-ended responses,
- Vacillation as caused by multiple factors in statements, and
- Opinions about excuses, insinuation, and avoidance.

The category comparison on the groups' qualitative responses revealed the difference in the themes mentioned. What concerned the English NS group the most were the *clarity* of the statements, the *effectiveness* of the speech act, and the *directness* and *truthfulness* in the refusal. In contrast, the Chinese EFL group gave more thoughts to whether the refusal would cause *embarrassment* or risk *face*; therefore, although *truthfulness* was desirable, *indirectness* in expression had to be exerted. The contrast in the themes suggested the NS group's focus on the function of language and the EFL group's value for the harmony in social interaction.

Also as discussed, the groups differed on their reactions to statements of interacting factors. Although both groups demonstrated vacillation over statements with compounding factors, the English NS group leaned towards asserting truthfulness over other factors, whereas the Chinese EFL group was more concerned about the negative feelings that could result from stating the bare truth in the scenarios. The difference in "to be (truthful) or not to be (truthful)" implied the value of individuality to the NS group and the importance of interpersonal solidarity to the EFL group.

Perhaps the most obvious group discrepancy was observed in the statements that involved the features of excuses, insinuation, and avoidance. The reactions to these statements indicated the subjects' opinions regarding "what to say, how to say it, and how it should function" in refusing. Favoring the three features, the Chinese EFL group demonstrated in their responses a pattern of "use an excuse, insinuate the refusal, and avoid the confrontation." In contrast, the English NS group's pattern seemed to be "tell the truth, tell it directly, and resolve the situation." The completely opposite approaches manifested the NS group's emphasis on the information communicated and the EFL group's focus on the communicators.

To recap and synthesize where the major discrepancies were found and what the differences were like, the following summary of findings serves as the answer to the first research question:

Areas of Discrepancies		Discrepancies (NS vs. EFL)
• Themes that emerged from the open-ended responses	=>	linguistic function vs. social interaction
• Vacillation as caused by multiple factors in statements	=>	individuality vs. solidarity
• Opinions about excuses, insinuation, and avoidance	=>	information vs. communicators

However, as the second research question indicates, what do the discrepancies suggest socioculturally?

The NS group seemed to believe that, in refusing, one should effectively accomplish the linguistic function, clearly convey the information, and assert individuality by stating the truth. Such a communication style might be due to the low pragmatic context the group's speech community has, in which verbalization is heavily depended upon and the communication occurs at a level where the information is the focus. As a result of such a direct refusal expression, imposition is likely to occur and thus the need to preserve the negative face.

On the other hand, the Chinese EFL group valued harmonious social interaction and the interpersonal solidarity of the communicators. With such beliefs, the speakers in the community address the positive face and indicate the intent to be amiable. The focus of the communication is on the interlocutors. The manner in which the speakers address the positive face is by indirectly suggesting a refusal. The indirectness is not too obscure to hinder the linguistic function because the community has a high pragmatic context, in which the form-and-meaning association is subtle and tacit.

Consequently, the groups' differences appeared to indicate the following sociocultural implications:

- The *aspect of face* addressed:
  The NS group maintained the negative face, whereas the EFL group promoted the positive face.
- The *pragmatic context* of the speech community:
  The NS group's speech community has a low pragmatic context, whereas the EFL group's community is of a high pragmatic context.
- The *level of communication*:
  The NS group focused more on *what* is being communicated, whereas the EFL group valued more *who* is communicating.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the sociocultural differences are likely to cause miscommunication and pragmatic failure. How could this be avoided in a cross-cultural setting? In the following section, suggestions pertaining to cross-cultural communication and foreign language learning will be proposed.

Metapragmatic Awareness

To Learn/Acquire and Not Be Taught

In promoting a better understanding of a speech act construct or reducing pragmatic failure, it is more appropriate to discuss the issue in light of pragmatic *learning* or *acquisition* than *pedagogy.* The difference is inductive verses deductive process, bottom-up verses top-down approach, or emergence from within verses imposition from without.

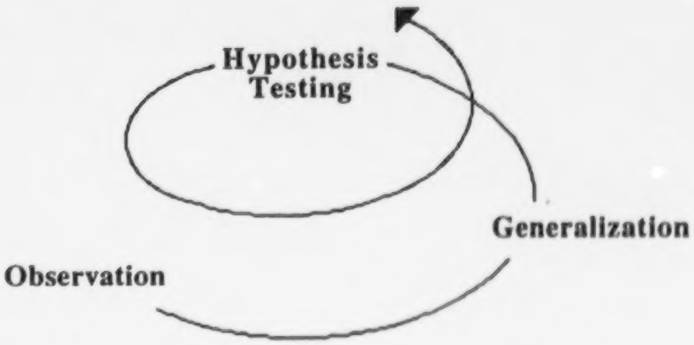
Unlike many other disciplines, the pragmatics of a language cannot be taught deductively with rules. Rules are useful as observations or summaries of language phenomena; however, no rules are descriptive enough to capture the intricacy and variance in language use. Instead, they are often taken prescriptively by learners (and nonnative speakers) as *the* way the language should operate and thus are likely to cause stereotyping or even misconception.

To Learn Is to Understand

Instead of taking a rule-driven and deductive approach, to *learn* about the language use in a speech community is to *understand* it metapragmatically. The understanding emerges in an inductive manner. It starts with observations on aspects of the dynamics in language use. As observations accumulate, they can be related to one another. As a result, field-based generalization would form, and one would begin to have a metapragmatic "feel" for the language. Continuing with more observations, one may refute or modify the initial hypotheses. Intuition for proper language use would develop gradually, and a well-rounded pragmatic understanding could thus be acquired. Such an understanding involves one's development of metapragmatic awareness with a bottom-up process of constructing perceptions about the speech community. Emerging internally, the perceptions are personal and therefore meaningful to the learner.

Learners as Researchers

The inductive process is in line with the advocated research approaches such as the two-pronged and three-phase procedures. When constructing perceptions with a bottom-up approach, a learner is like a researcher. They have in common the essential on-going inquisitiveness and reflectiveness. They both are continuously in a meaning-constructing spiral of observation, generalization, and hypothesis testing:



As it is for a researcher, such a metapragmatic inquiry is a problem-solving process for the learner. In the process, the learner takes on the perspective of an ethnographer, with mindfulness and open-mindedness.

Being Mindful and Open-Minded as an Ethnographer

Observation about language use initiates a learner's metapragmatic inquiry, and it often begins with noting where the target speech community operates differently from one's native community. The difference, however possibly fundamental, can also be very subtle. Therefore, the learner, like an ethnographer, needs to be keen enough not to take for granted a seemingly commonplace language phenomenon. The major findings of this study, on aspects of face, pragmatic contexts, and levels of communication, may serve as general directions for the observation to begin.

Being mindful helps one note the subtle differences in target language use; being open-minded prevents one from imposing judgement on the differences. Coming from a different speech community and preoccupied with a different set of values and beliefs, one may unconsciously assume that other languages function in the same way as his/her native language; one is also likely to transfer pragmatic differences into moral judgement. The metapragmatic presupposition and transfer are the major causes for cross-cultural pragmatic failure. In preventing or correcting the failure, one needs to recontextualize his/her perspectives, for both the target and the home speech communities.

Recontextualization: Emic and Etic Stands

To illustrate the importance of perspective recontextualization, take the level of directness as an example for the danger of metapragmatic presupposition and the nontransferability of language use. On a universal scale of one to ten, the directness level of one language may range from six to nine, whereas that of another language from one to four. In a cross-linguistic communication, a person from one language community may very well expect another person from the other language community to observe the same range of directness. When the presupposition fails to match the observation, one speaker (often unknowingly) transfers the pragmatic mismatch into the moral judgement that the other speaker is blunt, rude, insincere, or manipulative.

Misconception such as this can be avoided when one recontextualizes his/her perspectives by taking an *emic* stand and seeing a speech community from the inside. An emic view involves the aforementioned mindfulness and open-mindedness, the spiral metapragmatic inquiry, and, most importantly, the avoidance of perceiving the target speech community through the glasses tinted with the beliefs and values from one's native community. However, the native beliefs and values can be so innate and deeply-rooted that one is unconscious of their existence and influence. Consequently, an emic view into the target speech community also entails an *etic* view on the native language use.

Similar to the research methodology of contrastive analysis, the learner examines the pragmatics of both the target and the native languages so as to discover and be conscious of the differences that are likely to cause pragmatic failure. In addition, taking an etic view on the home speech community entails reflection on the community's patterns of communication and the implied sociocultural significance. Such an examination and reflection result in a metapragmatic awareness that is two-directional, on both the target and the native languages, and the learner comes to better understand one language and its community by understanding the other.

Repertoire Expansion and Not Belief/Value Switch

The results of metapragmatic awareness should be a repertoire expansion for the learner's understanding of the phenomena in language use, instead of an imposition for a belief or value switch. The difference is that the former promotes bi- or multi-culturalism in pragmatics and the latter suggests cultural imperialism. The distinction is also related to the aforementioned concept that pragmatics is not to be taught. When a learner is instructed the "proper" language use, he/she either suffers the imposition of embedded values and beliefs or remains socioculturally ignorant about the target language due to the lack of metapragmatic reflection. When the learner is encouraged to become a sociolinguistic researcher and engage in a metapragmatic inquiry into the target language, he/she is offered another set of perspectives as a choice to view language phenomena.

As a metapragmatic reflection, I find myself taking on the multiple roles of a researcher, a language user, and a (former) foreign language learner in the metapragmatic inquiry composed of the perspectives of method, construct, and perceptions. The parallel in the roles suggests the similarity and the link between research and learning. The integration of the perspectives provides a meaningful account for the phenomena of human language and its close connection with our cultures and societies.

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Appendix A

Semantic Taxonomy (Beebe et al., 1990)

I. Direct

  A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse")
  B. Nonperformative statement
    1. "No"
    2. Negative willingness/ability ("I can't," "I won't," "I don't think so.")

II. Indirect

  A. Statement of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry...," "I feel terrible...")
  B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you...")
  C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., "My children will be home at night," "I have a headache.")
  D. Statement of alternative
    1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., "I'd rather...," "I'd prefer...")
    2. Why don't you do X instead of Y (e.g., "Why don't you ask someone else?")
  E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have...")
  F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time," "I promise I'll...," "Next time I'll...")
  G. Statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends.")
  H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful.")
  I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
    1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., "I won't be any fun tonight" to refuse an invitation)
    2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: "I can't make a living off people who just order coffee.")
    3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack (e.g., "Who do you think you are?" "That's a terrible idea!")
    4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request
    5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "Don't worry about it," "That's okay," "You don't have to.")
    6. Self-defense (e.g., "I'm trying my best," "I'm doing all I can do," "I no do nutting wrong.")

J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal/disagreement
  1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
  2. Lack of enthusiasm
K. Avoidance
  1. Nonverbal
    a. Silence
    b. Hesitation
    c. Do nothing
    d. Physical departure
  2. Verbal
    a. Topic switch
    b. Joke
    c. Repetition of part of request, etc. (e.g., "Monday?")
    d. Postponement (e.g., "I'll think about it.")
    e. Hedging (e.g., "Gee, I don't know," "I'm not sure.")

III. Adjuncts (which are preliminary remarks that cannot stand alone to function as refusals/disagreement.)
  A. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement ("That's a good idea...." "I'd love to...")
  B. Statement of empathy (e.g., "I realize you are in a difficult situation.")
  C. Pause fillers (e.g., "uhh," "well," "oh," "uhm")
  D. Gratitude/appreciation

Appendix B

Discourse Completion Task Questionnaire

Your native language is: ______________

Age: _______ Sex: M ( ) / F ( )

For NON-native speakers of English: You've stayed in the US for ____ yr(s)

==

Please read the following situations and write a response in the blank after "you say." Respond as you would in an actual conversation.

1. You attend classes regularly and take good notes. One person in your class who doesn't show up very often asks to borrow your notes. Since you have to compete with the rest of the class to earn a good grade, you don't feel like sharing the results of your hard work with someone who doesn't work for it.

   You say:
   ____
   ____

2. Your roommate asks to use your car to go to Chicago. Knowing that he/she is a careless and unskillful driver, you don't want to lend him/her your car.

   You say:
   ____
   ____

3. You meet a colleague whom you are not very familiar with in the elevator during lunch hour. He/she says "Want to join me for lunch?" But you are not in a mood for having lunch with him/her.

   You say:
   ____
   ____

4. A good friend invites you to dinner, but you really can't stand this good friend's husband/wife.

You say:

____

____

5. You are eating with someone you just met in the dorm cafeteria. He/she offers to bring you something to drink, but you don't feel like it.

You say:

____

____

6. Your good friend is at your house for coffee. He/she accidentally spills a whole cup of coffee on your carpet and makes a mess of it. He/she insists on cleaning it up for you, but you don't want him/her to.

You say:

____

____

7. You are sitting in a restaurant looking at the menu. Your friend strongly suggests that you try their "chef's favorite," but you think it's to expensive.

You say:

____

____

8. Knowing that you tend to be forgetful, a good friend kindly suggests "Maybe you can write yourself little notes to remind you of things." But it's just not your way of doing things.

You say:

____

____

Appendix C

Metapragmatic Judgement Task Questionnaire

Given the following four situations, how appropriate do you consider each of their responses (A – F) to be? Give each response in each situation a rating, by circling one of the five numbers on the scale besides it. Then, in the space provided below each response, state the reason(s) why you gave the response such a rating (i.e. why you think the response is (very) (in)appropriate or why you are undecided about it's appropriateness.)

1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

Situation One: W attends classes regularly and takes good notes. One person in W's class who doesn't show up very often asks to borrow W's notes. Since W has to compete with the rest of the class to earn a good grade, W doesn't feel like sharing the results of his/her hard work with someone who doesn't work for it. W says,

1 2 3 4 5 A) "If I lend my notes to you, it is unfair to me and others who come to class regularly."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 B) "I think you should think about what you are doing."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 C) "I need them to study from. Maybe someone in your study group can loan you the notes. Sorry."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 D) "You should've taken notes by yourself!"

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 E) "If you had been in class, they (the notes) would make sense to you."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm not sure my notes will help you because they relate so closely to what was said or done in class. I really would rather not have them all copied. Is there one particular class that you need some notes on?"

Reason(s):

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1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

***Situation Two:** A friend invites X to dinner, but X really can't stand this friend's husband/wife. X says,*

1 2 3 4 5 **A)** "Well, I can't that night. But, could we go to lunch Tuesday together?"

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 **B)** "I don't want to go out at night."

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 **C)** "You know I don't get along with your husband/wife. It'll be awkward when we are together."

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 **D)** "I'm sorry, but my husband and I are going to a concert. We bought the tickets a long time ago. Perhaps we can get together some other time."

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 **E)** "Is your husband/wife going to be there? If so, no. Thanks."

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 **F)** "Why don't you get a divorce?"

Reason(s): ______________________________

____

1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

__Situation Three__: *Y's friend is at Y's house for coffee. The friend accidentally spills a whole cup of coffee on Y's carpet and makes a mess of it. The friend insists on cleaning it up for Y, but Y doesn't want the friend to. Y says,*

1 2 3 4 5 A) "It's my house. I don't want my guests to clean up anything."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 B) "This kind of things happen. Things break."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 C) "Don't worry. Really. It's nothing at all. I'll get it in a minute."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 D) "Let me do it. You'll only make matters worse."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 E) "No, no. Don't worry. I have some handy cleaning stuff I use for stuff like that. Sit still and keep talking. I'll get it."

Reason(s):

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm going to buy the cleaning kit later."

Reason(s):

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1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

Situation Four: ***Z's roommate asks to use Z's car to go to Chicago. Knowing that the roommate is a careless and unskillful driver, Z doesn't want to lend the roommate the car. Z says,***

1 2 3 4 5 A) "I'm sorry, but I don't lend my car to anyone."

Reason(s): ____________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 B) "I'm sorry, but I don't feel comfortable loaning out my car for long trips. Besides, I need it this week. How would I get around?"

Reason(s): ____________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 C) "If something happens, it's a mess with the insurance."

Reason(s): ____________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 D) "I'm sorry, but I made a policy not to lend my car to anybody. Besides, I need it this week."

Reason(s): ____________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 E) "I might go somewhere. I'll give you my answer later."

Reason(s): ____________________

____

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm sorry. I can't lend you my car."

Reason(s): ____________________

____

Appendix D

Metapragmatic Rating Test/Retest Questionnaire

Given the following four situations (I ~ IV), how appropriate do you consider each of their responses (A ~ F) to be? Give each response in each situation a rating, by circling one of the five numbers on the scale besides it.

1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

I. W attends classes regularly and takes good notes. One person in W's class who doesn't show up very often asks to borrow W's notes. Since W has to compete with the rest of the class to earn a good grade, W doesn't feel like sharing the results of his/her hard work with someone who doesn't work for it. W says,

1 2 3 4 5 A) "If I lend my notes to you, it is unfair to me and others who come to class regularly."

1 2 3 4 5 B) "I think you should think about what you are doing."

1 2 3 4 5 C) "I need them to study from. Maybe someone in your study group can loan you the notes. Sorry."

1 2 3 4 5 D) "You should've taken notes by yourself!"

1 2 3 4 5 E) "If you had been in class, they (the notes) would make sense to you."

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm not sure my notes will help you because they relate so closely to what was said or done in class. I really would rather not have them all copied. Is there one particular class that you need some notes on?"

II. A friend invites X to dinner, but X really can't stand this friend's husband/wife. X says,

1 2 3 4 5 A) "Well, I can't that night. But, could we go to lunch Tuesday together?"

1 2 3 4 5 B) "I don't want to go out at night."

1 2 3 4 5 C) "You know I don't get along with your husband/wife. It'll be awkward when we are together."

1 2 3 4 5 D) "I'm sorry, but my husband and I are going to a concert. We bought the tickets a long time ago. Perhaps we can get together some other time."

1 2 3 4 5 E) "Is your husband/wife going to be there? If so, no. Thanks."

1 2 3 4 5 F) "Why don't you get a divorce?"

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1	2	3	4	5
very inappropriate	inappropriate	undecided	appropriate	very appropriate

III. Y's friend is at Y's house for coffee. The friend accidentally spills a whole cup of coffee on Y's carpet and makes a mess of it. The friend insists on cleaning it up for Y, but Y doesn't want the friend to. Y says,

1 2 3 4 5 A) "It's my house. I don't want my guests to clean up anything."

1 2 3 4 5 B) "This kind of things happen. Things break."

1 2 3 4 5 C) "Don't worry. Really. It's nothing at all. I'll get it in a minute."

1 2 3 4 5 D) "Let me do it. You'll only make matters worse."

1 2 3 4 5 E) "No, no. Don't worry. I have some handy cleaning stuff I use for stuff like that. Sit still and keep talking. I'll get it."

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm going to buy the cleaning kit later."

IV. Z's roommate asks to use Z's car to go to Chicago. Knowing that the roommate is a careless and unskillful driver, Z doesn't want to lend the roommate the car. Z says,

1 2 3 4 5 A) "I'm sorry, but I don't lend my car to anyone."

1 2 3 4 5 B) "I'm sorry, but I don't feel comfortable loaning out my car for long trips. Besides, I need it this week. How would I get around?"

1 2 3 4 5 C) "If something happens, it's a mess with the insurance."

1 2 3 4 5 D) "I'm sorry, but I made a policy not to lend my car to anybody. Besides, I need it this week."

1 2 3 4 5 E) "I might go somewhere. I'll give you my answer later."

1 2 3 4 5 F) "I'm sorry. I can't lend you my car."

Appendix E
Test/Retest Subject Rating Consistency: Native Group

Subj.	± 0		± 1		± 2		± 3		± 4		Total	Tot.State.	Ave diff/State.
1	11	46%	8	33%	3	13%	2	8%		0%	100%	24	0.83
2	11	46%	11	46%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
3	17	71%	4	17%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.42
4	10	42%	10	42%	2	8%	2	8%		0%	100%	24	0.83
5	12	50%	9	38%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
6	10	42%	14	58%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
7	12	50%	5	21%	4	17%	2	8%	1	4%	100%	24	0.96
8	10	42%	12	50%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.67
9	14	58%	6	25%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
10	10	42%	9	38%	5	21%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.79
11	16	67%	7	29%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
12	12	50%	9	38%	2	8%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.67
13	19	79%	5	21%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.21
14	15	63%	9	38%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
15	16	67%	7	29%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
16	14	58%	8	33%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
17	13	54%	8	33%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
18	10	42%	14	58%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
19	16	67%	8	33%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.33
20	18	75%	6	25%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.25
21	8	33%	12	50%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.83
22	15	63%	5	21%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.58
23	11	46%	9	38%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.75
24	15	63%	9	38%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
25	11	46%	12	50%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
26	16	67%	7	29%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
27	10	42%	10	42%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.79
28	13	54%	10	42%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
29	16	67%	4	17%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
30	14	58%	8	33%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
31	16	67%	8	33%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.33
32	17	71%	4	17%	2	8%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.46
33	14	58%	9	38%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
34	7	29%	14	58%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.83
35	11	46%	9	38%	3	13%		0%	1	4%	100%	24	0.79
36	14	58%	9	38%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
37	13	54%	8	33%	2	8%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.63
38	13	54%	10	42%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
39	13	54%	9	38%	1	4%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.58
40	14	58%	7	29%	1	4%	2	8%		0%	100%	24	0.63
41	15	63%	7	29%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
42	15	63%	9	38%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.38
Average		55%		36%		8%		1%		0%			0.56

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Appendix F
Test/Retest Statement Rating Consistency: Native Group

Statements	± 0		± 1		± 2		± 3		± 4		Total	Tot.Subj.	Ave diff/Subj
I-A	21	50%	18	43%	3	7%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.57
I-B	23	55%	13	31%	5	12%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.62
I-C	21	50%	18	43%	3	7%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.57
I-D	14	33%	20	48%	4	10%	4	10%		0%	100%	42	0.95
I-E	17	40%	18	43%	5	12%	1	2%	1	2%	100%	42	0.83
I-F	26	62%	14	33%	2	5%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.43
II-A	24	57%	14	33%	3	7%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.55
II-B	22	52%	11	26%	8	19%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.71
II-C	17	40%	17	40%	5	12%	3	7%		0%	100%	42	0.86
II-D	22	52%	14	33%	6	14%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.62
II-E	21	50%	16	38%	3	7%	1	2%	1	2%	100%	42	0.69
II-F	39	93%	3	7%		0%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.07
III-A	21	50%	18	43%	3	7%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.57
III-B	24	57%	17	40%	1	2%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.45
III-C	31	74%	10	24%		0%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.31
III-D	29	69%	12	29%	1	2%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.33
III-E	27	64%	12	29%	3	7%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.43
III-F	19	45%	18	43%	5	12%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.67
IV-A	24	57%	14	33%	3	7%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.55
IV-B	25	60%	16	38%	1	2%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.43
IV-C	24	57%	14	33%	3	7%	1	2%		0%	100%	42	0.55
IV-D	24	57%	15	36%	3	7%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.50
IV-E	21	50%	19	45%	2	5%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.55
IV-F	21	50%	17	40%	4	10%		0%		0%	100%	42	0.60
Average		55%		36%		8%		1%		0%			0.56

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Appendix G
Test/Retest Subject Rating Consistency: EFL Group

Subj.	± 0		± 1		± 2		± 3		± 4		Total	Tot.State.	Ave diff/State.
1	15	63%	8	33%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.42
2	10	42%	9	38%	5	21%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.79
3	9	38%	14	58%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.67
4	11	46%	9	38%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.71
5	8	33%	12	50%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.88
6	10	42%	11	46%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.71
7	8	33%	7	29%	8	33%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	1.08
8	14	58%	2	8%	7	29%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.79
9	10	42%	13	54%		0%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.67
10	9	38%	6	25%	8	33%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	1.04
11	8	33%	10	42%	5	21%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.96
12	14	58%	9	38%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
13	13	54%	7	29%	1	4%	3	13%		0%	100%	24	0.75
14	16	67%	5	21%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
15	8	33%	12	50%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.88
16	7	29%	11	46%	6	25%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.96
17	4	17%	19	79%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.88
18	14	58%	10	42%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.42
19	15	63%	5	21%	3	13%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.58
20	10	42%	9	38%	4	17%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.83
21	14	58%	9	38%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.46
22	12	50%	8	33%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.67
23	10	42%	9	38%	5	21%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.79
24	7	29%	6	25%	10	42%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	1.21
25	12	50%	11	46%		0%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.58
26	11	46%	11	46%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
27	6	25%	15	63%	2	8%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.92
28	14	58%	8	33%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.50
29	15	63%	4	17%	1	4%	4	17%		0%	100%	24	0.75
30	4	33%	3	25%	3	25%	2	17%		0%	100%	12	1.25
31	13	54%	7	29%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
32	19	79%	4	17%	1	4%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.25
33	10	42%	11	46%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.71
34	11	46%	9	38%	4	17%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.71
35	14	58%	7	29%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.54
36	12	50%	6	25%	5	21%	1	4%		0%	100%	24	0.79
37	12	50%	9	38%	3	13%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
38	12	50%	10	42%	2	8%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.58
39	5	22%	13	57%	4	17%	1	4%		0%	100%	23	1.04
40	9	38%	15	63%		0%		0%		0%	100%	24	0.63
Average		46%		38%		13%		3%		0%			0.73

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Appendix H
Test/Retest Statement Rating Consistency: EFL Group

Statements	± 0		± 1		± 2		± 3		± 4		Total	Tot.Subj	Ave diff/Subj.
I-A	14	35%	21	53%	5	13%		0%		0%	100%	40	0.78
I-B	14	35%	14	35%	10	25%	2	5%		0%	100%	40	1.00
I-C	21	53%	12	30%	6	15%	1	3%		0%	100%	40	0.68
I-D	13	33%	19	48%	6	15%	2	5%		0%	100%	40	0.93
I-E	14	35%	18	45%	6	15%	2	5%		0%	100%	40	0.90
I-F	17	43%	16	40%	7	18%		0%		0%	100%	40	0.75
II-A	13	33%	20	50%	7	18%		0%		0%	100%	40	0.85
II-B	18	45%	15	38%	7	18%		0%		0%	100%	40	0.73
II-C	15	38%	14	35%	8	20%	3	8%		0%	100%	40	0.98
II-D	25	63%	12	30%	2	5%	1	3%		0%	100%	40	0.48
II-E	18	45%	18	45%	4	10%		0%		0%	100%	40	0.65
II-F	26	65%	10	25%	1	3%	3	8%		0%	100%	40	0.53
III-A	20	51%	10	26%	7	18%	2	5%		0%	100%	39	0.77
III-B	19	50%	16	42%	3	8%		0%		0%	100%	38	0.58
III-C	27	69%	12	31%	0	0%		0%		0%	100%	39	0.31
III-D	19	49%	15	38%	5	13%		0%		0%	100%	39	0.64
III-E	15	38%	18	46%	5	13%	1	3%		0%	100%	39	0.79
III-F	17	44%	19	49%	3	8%		0%		0%	100%	39	0.64
IV-A	21	54%	10	26%	8	21%		0%		0%	100%	39	0.67
IV-B	17	44%	16	41%	5	13%	1	3%		0%	100%	39	0.74
IV-C	18	46%	17	44%	4	10%		0%		0%	100%	39	0.64
IV-D	20	51%	14	36%	4	10%	1	3%		0%	100%	39	0.64
IV-E	16	41%	17	44%	5	13%	1	3%		0%	100%	39	0.77
IV-F	18	46%	10	26%	8	21%	3	8%		0%	100%	39	0.90
Average		46%		38%		13%		2%		0%			0.72

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Appendix I

Validity Check -- Comparing Interview Responses with Questionnaire Responses

Interview Subjects	Scenario I																		Scenario II																	
	A			B			C			D			E			F			A			B			C			D			E			F		
	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%
NS-1	4	4	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	5	80	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	5	80	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	4	4	100	3	3	100
NS-2	4	5	80	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	3	67	3	4	75
NS-3	5	5	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100
NS-4	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	2	2	100
NS-5	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100
NS-6	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	3	67	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	4	75	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100
NS-7	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	3	67	3	3	100	2	2	100
NS-8	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100
NS-9	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100
NS-10	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	5	80	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100
NS average			96			95			95			94			97			98			96			98			95			97			97			98
EFL-1	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	2	2	100
EFL-2	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	5	80	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100
EFL-3	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100
EFL-4	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	2	2	100
EFL-5	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100
EFL-6	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100
EFL-7	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	2	3	67
EFL-8	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	4	75	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	3	67	4	4	100
EFL-9	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	5	80	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	4	5	80	3	3	100	4	5	80	2	2	100	3	3	100
EFL-10	4	5	80	3	4	75	3	4	75	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100
EFL average			96			95			96			98			98			98			95			96			96			96			97			97
NS & EFL Average			96			95			95			96			97			98			95			97			95			96			97			97

I: number of ideas in the questionnaire response that were also mentioned or acknowledged during INTERVIEW
Q: number of ideas in the QUESTIONNAIRE response
%: RATIO of I / Q

Validity Check -- Comparing Interview Responses with Questionnaire Responses

Interview Subjects	Scenario III																		Scenario IV																		Subject Average %
	A			B			C			D			E			F			A			B			C			D			E			F			
	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	I	Q	%	
NS-1	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	96
NS-2	2	2	100	4	4	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	95
NS-3	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	99
NS-4	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	4	75	97
NS-5	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	98
NS-6	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	94
NS-7	2	2	100	2	3	67	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	97
NS-8	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	97
NS-9	2	2	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	99
NS-10	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	3	67	4	4	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	4	4	100	96
NS average			98			97			98			97			98			98			98			100			98			95			100			98	97
EFL-1	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	4	75	99
EFL-2	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	98
EFL-3	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	4	4	100	2	3	67	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	94
EFL-4	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	3	67	2	2	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	98
EFL-5	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	2	2	100	98
EFL-6	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	4	75	98
EFL-7	3	3	100	2	2	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	2	2	100	3	3	100	97
EFL-8	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	2	2	100	97
EFL-9	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	4	75	4	5	80	4	4	100	3	3	100	4	4	100	3	4	75	4	4	100	3	3	100	93
EFL-10	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	4	4	100	4	4	100	3	3	100	2	2	100	3	3	100	3	3	100	3	4	75	3	3	100	94
EFL average			98			98			98			97			98			98			95			98			97			95			98			95	96
NS & EFL Average			98			97			98			97			98			98			96			99			97			95			99			96	97

I: number of ideas in the questionnaire response that were also mentioned or acknowledged during INTERVIEW
Q: number of ideas in the QUESTIONNAIRE response
%: RATIO of I / Q

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Appendix J
NS and EFL Subjects' Ratings

NS Subjects' Ratings

Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
NS1	4	2	4	5	4	1	5	1	4	2	1	1	5	4	2	1	4	3	4	4	2	1	4	2
NS2	3	4	4	2	4	4	3	2	3	4	2	1	4	3	4	2	4	2	3	4	3	4	2	2
NS3	5	3	5	4	5	4	4	2	5	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	3
NS4	2	3	5	2	1	2	3	1	5	3	3	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
NS5	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	3	4	5	2	5	3	4	5	3	4	3	3
NS6	1	5	5	1	5	5	5	1	4	5	1	1	3	4	1	1	5	5	5	5	4	5	1	5
NS7	2	5	2	1	4	4	4	2	4	4	1	1	4	4	4	2	3	2	4	4	4	4	3	4
NS8	3	4	4	3	4	5	4	2	3	5	1	1	5	3	4	1	4	3	5	4	3	2	2	4
NS9	4	4	4	3	2	3	1	1	5	3	2	1	2	4	3	1	5	3	3	4	2	4	1	3
NS10	4	5	4	3	4	3	5	2	3	4	1	1	1	1	5	2	4	4	5	2	4	5	1	5
NS11	4	2	4	5	4	4	4	1	4	4	2	3	4	3	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	4
NS12	4	1	5	2	3	4	4	3	3	5	1	1	3	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	2	3
NS13	2	2	5	1	2	4	4	3	4	3	2	3	5	4	4	2	5	3	4	4	4	5	2	2
NS14	•	•	•	•	•	•	4	2	5	1	3	1	4	4	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	4	2	4
NS15	4	2	5	2	4	4	4	2	4	2	1	1	5	4	4	1	4	2	3	4	2	5	3	4
NS16	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	1	4	4	1	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	2	3
NS17	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	2	5	4	2	1	4	5	3	1	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
NS18	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	2	3	4	2	1	4	5	4	4	2	3	4	5	2	2	5	2
NS19	4	4	3	4	4	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	4	4	2	2	4	3	4	3	4	5	1	3
NS20	5	4	5	3	3	4	5	3	4	5	3	1	4	5	4	3	4	4	5	5	4	4	3	4
NS21	4	2	4	2	3	3	4	4	5	2	2	1	4	4	4	2	4	3	5	4	4	4	2	4
NS22	5	5	5	4	5	3	3	1	4	4	1	1	4	5	4	1	4	2	4	2	3	4	2	5
NS23	3	2	5	1	4	3	5	3	3	5	1	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	4
NS24	4	3	4	2	3	1	5	3	3	1	1	1	4	5	5	1	5	3	4	4	3	4	2	2
NS25	5	2	4	1	3	5	3	1	1	4	1	1	5	3	2	1	5	3	4	4	2	5	1	2
NS26	5	3	4	3	4	3	4	2	4	3	1	1	4	5	5	2	5	3	3	4	3	2	2	3
NS27	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	3	2	1	2	5	5	1	5	3	2	4	4	4	3	4
NS28	2	4	4	3	3	3	4	2	3	4	2	1	3	4	3	1	4	2	4	4	2	4	2	3
NS29	4	4	3	4	4	3	2	2	4	2	4	1	4	4	5	2	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4
NS30	3	3	4	4	5	4	3	2	5	3	3	1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
NS31	4	2	2	2	4	5	1	1	4	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	5	2	•	•	2	•	1	3
NS32	4	2	5	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	3	4	4	1	4	3	5	4	4	4	3	3
NS33	4	3	4	2	3	4	2	3	3	4	2	1	4	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	3
NS34	3	2	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	2	2	1	4	4	4	1	5	3	3	4	4	3	2	5
NS35	3	2	4	4	3	2	4	3	4	3	2	1	2	2	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	2	5
NS36	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	4	4	4	3	4	3	5	5	5	5	1	4
NS37	2	2	5	3	3	5	5	3	1	3	1	1	4	4	5	1	5	3	4	4	4	4	2	4

Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
NS38	5	3	4	2	4	4	3	2	5	3	2	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	4	5	4	4	3	3
NS39	4	2	5	1	2	4	4	3	2	5	1	1	3	3	4	1	4	3	4	5	4	4	2	2
NS40	3	1	5	2	1	5	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	4	4	2	4	2	5	5	4	4	1	4
NS41	1	1	3	1	1	1	5	1	2	4	4	1	5	5	5	1	5	4	2	5	4	1	4	1
NS42	4	1	3	1	2	5	5	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	4	1	5	2	3	4	3	2	1	2
NS43	3	3	5	4	5	3	2	3	2	5	1	1	3	4	5	2	4	3	5	5	4	5	2	4
NS44	4	2	3	2	3	5	4	1	1	4	1	1	4	4	4	1	3	3	2	4	4	4	3	2
NS45	4	2	4	3	2	1	4	1	4	3	2	1	4	2	4	2	5	1	3	4	4	4	2	4
NS46	4	3	4	4	4	5	4	1	4	2	2	1	4	4	4	1	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	5
NS47	3	4	5	1	4	3	2	4	5	2	1	1	4	5	2	1	5	3	1	4	2	2	4	5
NS48	4	2	5	2	3	2	5	1	2	5	1	1	3	4	4	1	5	3	5	4	4	5	2	3
NS49	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	1	2	4	1	1	2	4	5	1	4	3	5	4	4	2	2	5
NS50	4	3	5	4	4	1	4	2	4	2	2	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	4
NS51	3	2	5	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	2	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	2	4
NS52	2	1	4	1	1	4	4	2	3	5	1	1	2	4	4	1	3	1	4	4	3	4	2	3
NS53	5	3	5	4	5	5	5	2	5	3	4	1	4	4	5	1	5	2	2	5	4	4	2	3
NS54	2	1	4	2	2	2	1	1	5	3	3	1	4	5	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	3	4
NS55	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	3	4	4	1	1	3	4	4	2	4	2	5	4	4	5	2	3
NS56	4	3	4	1	3	4	5	3	2	4	1	1	2	4	4	1	5	3	3	4	3	4	2	2
NS57	4	3	5	2	4	4	5	4	2	3	1	1	4	4	5	1	4	2	5	5	5	5	2	4
NS58	3	3	4	3	4	5	4	2	4	4	1	1	4	5	4	2	4	3	5	5	4	4	2	5
NS59	4	2	5	2	4	4	4	2	4	3	2	1	2	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	4
NS60	3	3	5	1	5	5	4	3	4	5	1	1	3	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	4	5	2	3
NS61	4	3	5	2	4	4	5	1	4	5	1	1	4	4	5	1	5	3	4	4	3	2	3	4
NS62	4	2	4	2	3	4	3	2	5	3	2	1	4	4	3	1	4	3	5	4	3	5	2	2
NS63	4	2	5	1	2	3	4	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	5	1	4	3	4	4	2	4	2	3
NS64	4	2	4	2	2	4	5	3	2	4	2	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	3	4	4	4	2	3
NS65	3	3	5	1	2	3	5	2	1	4	1	1	2	5	5	1	5	2	4	4	3	5	2	3
NS66	4	1	4	1	2	4	4	1	2	4	1	1	2	4	4	2	5	2	4	4	4	4	1	1
NS67	4	2	4	3	4	5	5	3	2	2	1	1	4	4	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	4	2	4
NS68	3	1	5	4	4	2	2	1	4	4	1	1	2	4	5	2	5	3	4	5	5	5	1	4
NS69	3	2	4	2	2	2	5	3	2	5	1	1	4	4	5	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	4
NS70	5	4	3	2	2	4	4	2	3	1	3	1	5	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	5	4	1	5
NS71	4	2	4	2	2	1	4	2	4	2	1	1	2	3	4	1	5	2	2	4	2	3	2	3
NS72	4	2	3	2	2	4	3	2	4	2	1	1	2	4	4	1	4	3	3	3	2	3	2	4
NS73	2	4	2	2	4	1	5	4	5	3	1	1	3	4	4	1	5	3	4	5	2	4	3	5
NS74	2	1	4	2	4	4	5	2	2	5	1	1	4	4	4	2	5	2	4	5	4	5	2	4
NS75	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	2	4	2	2	1	4	4	3	2	2	2	5	5	4	5	3	4
NS76	4	2	5	3	4	4	5	1	1	5	4	1	5	5	4	2	5	1	5	4	2	5	1	4
NS77	4	3	5	1	2	5	5	2	2	5	1	1	5	2	5	1	4	2	4	2	2	4	5	4
NS78	4	3	3	2	4	5	4	1	3	4	1	1	3	2	4	2	5	3	4	3	3	5	2	2
NS79	2	3	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	4
NS80	4	2	5	4	4	3	5	2	1	5	1	1	4	3	4	1	4	3	5	5	3	5	2	4

Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
NS81	2	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	3	4	4	3	2	4	4	4	4	2
NS82	4	4	5	3	4	4	3	2	4	3	2	1	4	4	2	2	5	3	3	4	3	4	2	3
NS83	3	1	5	2	3	4	5	2	3	4	1	1	4	3	3	1	5	2	3	5	2	4	1	2
NS84	4	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	5	2	1	5	4	5	2	5	4	5	5	4	5	1	3
NS85	4	2	5	1	2	3	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	4	2	2	4	3	2	2	4
NS86	4	3	5	3	5	3	4	1	4	3	5	1	4	4	3	1	5	2	5	4	4	4	2	5
NS87	3	2	5	2	3	4	5	2	1	5	1	1	4	3	4	1	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	3
NS88	1	1	5	3	3	2	4	1	2	4	1	1	3	4	2	1	5	1	5	5	5	4	1	5
NS89	5	1	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	5	2	4	5	2	5	5	4
NS90	4	3	5	1	2	4	4	2	3	5	2	1	4	5	4	2	5	3	4	4	2	4	2	3
NS91	4	3	3	2	3	4	2	3	5	3	1	1	2	3	4	1	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	4
NS92	4	3	5	3	4	4	4	2	4	5	1	1	4	4	4	1	5	3	4	5	4	5	3	4
NS93	3	2	5	1	3	4	4	3	4	2	1	1	4	5	5	2	5	2	5	5	3	5	3	2
NS94	5	2	4	3	4	4	5	2	4	5	1	1	4	3	5	1	5	3	5	4	4	4	2	4
NS95	4	2	5	1	3	5	5	2	2	5	1	1	2	4	4	1	5	2	5	5	4	5	2	4
NS96	3	2	4	1	3	4	4	2	4	1	1	1	1	3	4	2	5	1	2	5	4	4	1	1
NS97	3	1	4	1	3	3	4	3	2	5	1	1	3	4	5	1	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	4
NS98	3	2	5	2	3	4	3	4	4	4	2	1	3	4	4	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	3	4
NS99	4	2	5	1	2	4	4	2	4	2	1	1	4	5	4	1	4	4	3	4	4	4	2	2
NS100	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	2	4	4	5	5	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	5
NS101	4	2	5	1	1	4	4	1	4	4	1	1	3	4	5	1	4	3	2	4	2	2	2	4
NS102	2	4	1	1	3	5	4	2	3	4	1	1	4	3	5	1	4	3	3	4	3	4	1	4
NS103	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	2	3	1	1	4	4	4	2	5	3	3	4	4	3	3	4
NS104	4	2	5	4	4	2	5	3	4	4	2	1	2	4	4	2	4	3	5	5	5	5	5	4
NS105	2	2	4	1	2	3	4	2	3	4	1	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	2	3
NS106	2	3	4	1	4	5	5	3	3	4	1	1	2	3	5	1	5	3	4	4	3	4	2	4

EFL Subjects' Ratings

Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
EFL1	2	2	3	4	4	3	5	2	2	3	1	1	2	4	5	1	3	2	2	4	3	4	2	3
EFL2	4	1	5	1	2	3	2	1	4	5	1	1	1	3	5	1	5	3	4	5	2	5	4	1
EFL3	4	2	2	4	4	3	5	4	2	5	1	1	4	•	5	1	5	3	4	5	3	4	3	4
EFL4	3	2	3	3	4	5	4	3	5	2	1	1	3	4	4	1	4	2	4	4	3	5	5	3
EFL5	4	2	5	2	3	3	4	3	1	5	1	1	2	4	5	1	5	2	3	4	3	4	4	3
EFL6	2	2	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	5	2	1	2	4	5	1	5	2	2	4	4	4	5	2
EFL7	5	2	5	2	2	3	5	3	4	4	2	1	3	•	5	2	5	3	3	5	3	3	3	4
EFL8	2	1	5	1	2	2	4	4	1	5	1	1	5	1	5	1	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	4
EFL9	2	3	5	3	2	4	5	2	4	5	2	1	4	2	4	2	2	3	4	5	4	5	2	4
EFL10	4	1	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	2	1	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	2
EFL11	5	3	4	2	3	5	4	3	5	5	2	1	3	1	4	2	5	2	5	4	3	5	2	2
EFL12	4	2	4	2	3	•	5	1	3	2	1	3	5	2	3	1	3	3	3	2	2	4	5	4
EFL13	3	3	4	2	3	5	5	3	1	4	1	3	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	5	4	1
EFL14	2	1	4	1	4	5	4	2	2	5	1	1	4	2	5	5	4	3	2	2	5	1	4	3
EFL15	4	2	5	1	3	4	4	4	4	4	1	1	4	5	5	2	4	3	4	5	4	4	4	2
EFL16	4	3	5	1	•	5	4	3	2	5	1	1	4	1	5	•	3	•	3	5	3	3	4	•
EFL17	4	2	5	1	4	1	2	2	5	4	5	1	4	5	4	1	4	2	2	4	2	4	5	4
EFL18	2	2	4	1	2	5	5	2	5	5	1	1	3	1	5	4	5	3	2	4	2	4	4	1
EFL19	4	3	5	2	3	4	4	4	5	5	2	1	5	3	5	2	4	3	4	3	5	4	5	2
EFL20	2	1	4	2	3	4	5	2	3	5	1	1	3	5	5	1	4	2	4	3	2	4	2	3
EFL21	3	1	4	1	2	3	5	3	1	4	1	1	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	2
EFL22	2	1	5	3	3	4	4	3	4	5	5	1	4	2	5	1	5	3	3	4	1	4	5	3
EFL23	4	2	4	2	2	3	4	4	2	5	2	•	4	3	4	2	4	3	3	2	1	3	3	2
EFL24	2	1	2	2	•	•	2	1	1	2	2	1	4	•	5	3	5	4	3	4	2	4	2	2
EFL25	4	2	5	2	3	4	4	3	2	5	1	1	3	4	5	2	5	3	4	4	3	5	2	3
EFL26	2	2	5	2	2	5	4	4	2	5	2	1	3	4	4	1	5	3	4	5	2	4	4	4
EFL27	2	2	3	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	3	1	2	3	4	1	4	2	3	3	2	4	4	4
EFL18	1	1	5	1	1	5	5	4	2	3	1	1	2	4	3	1	5	2	4	3	1	5	4	2
EFL29	4	2	5	3	3	4	5	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	2	5	1	4	5	1	4	3	2
EFL30	4	2	4	2	•	•	3	2	4	5	3	1	2	3	5	2	5	1	5	5	2	5	2	2
EFL31	2	3	2	1	4	3	4	2	5	2	4	1	4	3	4	2	3	2	3	4	4	3	3	5
EFL32	4	2	5	1	1	•	3	1	4	3	2	1	2	2	4	1	3	1	2	4	4	2	2	2
EFL33	2	2	4	1	4	4	4	2	2	5	1	1	2	2	4	2	5	3	2	4	4	4	3	2
EFL34	5	2	4	5	2	2	4	2	5	4	2	1	4	4	5	1	5	2	5	4	2	5	2	4
EFL35	3	1	5	2	3	5	5	3	1	5	1	1	3	4	5	1	5	3	3	4	2	4	3	5
EFL36	3	2	4	1	2	4	3	4	1	3	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	3	3	4	3	3	3	2
EFL37	3	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	•	1	5	1	5	4	5	1	5	5	4	5	3	5	5	5
EFL38	3	2	4	2	4	5	5	3	3	5	1	1	4	•	4	1	5	4	2	4	1	4	3	3
EFL39	4	2	4	2	3	5	4	2	5	4	1	1	3	4	4	1	3	2	4	4	3	4	2	4
EFL40	4	3	5	3	5	5	4	4	2	5	1	1	4	4	5	1	5	2	4	4	4	5	2	2
EFL41	4	2	5	2	1	3	2	2	4	5	1	1	3	5	5	1	4	2	1	5	1	3	4	2

Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
EFL42	•	•	•	•	•	•	4	2	3	5	2	1	•	•	•	•	•	•	3	4	2	4	4	3
EFL43	4	2	4	4	4	5	5	4	3	5	1	1	4	4	5	1	3	2	4	4	2	5	3	4
EFL44	3	2	5	2	2	5	4	2	3	5	1	1	2	3	5	1	5	1	4	5	1	4	3	3
EFL45	4	2	4	5	3	2	5	2	4	5	2	1	1	3	4	2	5	2	4	5	4	4	4	3
EFL46	2	1	4	3	1	2	5	3	4	5	2	1	5	3	5	2	4	3	3	2	4	2	5	1
EFL47	2	2	5	3	3	5	4	3	4	4	1	1	2	3	4	1	4	2	2	4	2	3	2	1
EFL48	3	1	3	2	3	3	4	3	5	4	2	1	4	5	5	2	5	2	4	5	2	3	2	3
EFL49	3	4	2	4	2	1	4	2	4	5	1	1	5	4	4	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	5
EFL50	4	2	4	5	3	1	5	2	1	5	1	1	4	4	5	1	5	2	2	5	3	2	5	1
EFL51	3	2	4	1	2	5	4	3	1	3	2	1	2	4	5	2	4	3	3	5	3	4	5	3
EFL52	3	2	4	2	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	1	4	2	5	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	3
EFL53	1	2	5	3	3	4	4	3	1	5	1	1	1	4	5	1	4	4	2	4	2	5	4	3
EFL54	2	1	4	1	4	5	4	4	1	4	1	1	2	4	4	1	5	3	4	2	2	3	4	1
EFL55	2	2	4	4	4	2	4	3	4	2	3	1	2	2	4	1	4	2	2	4	1	4	2	4
EFL56	2	3	4	2	4	4	3	2	4	4	2	1	2	4	4	2	4	3	2	3	2	4	2	3
EFL57	3	1	4	1	2	5	4	2	2	3	1	1	3	3	4	3	4	2	2	3	2	4	3	2
EFL58	4	1	5	1	4	5	4	2	2	5	1	1	3	4	5	1	5	3	5	5	3	5	3	4
EFL59	4	2	4	4	4	3	4	1	4	4	1	1	4	4	5	4	4	2	4	4	2	5	3	4
EFL60	2	1	4	1	2	5	4	2	1	5	1	1	3	4	5	3	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	2
EFL61	3	1	4	1	2	5	2	2	2	5	1	1	2	4	4	1	5	3	2	3	2	3	2	2
EFL62	4	2	5	3	4	5	4	4	1	5	2	3	2	5	4	1	4	3	3	2	3	5	4	3
EFL63	4	2	4	4	4	4	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2	4	2	4	3	1
EFL64	3	1	5	2	2	4	4	2	4	5	2	1	3	4	5	1	5	4	2	4	2	3	4	1
EFL65	4	4	5	3	4	5	4	1	4	5	1	1	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	4	•	4	4	2
EFL66	4	2	4	2	3	5	4	3	1	5	1	1	2	4	5	1	3	2	4	4	2	4	3	2
EFL67	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	3	5	2	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	3
EFL68	1	1	3	1	2	4	4	2	1	5	1	1	3	1	5	1	5	3	3	3	1	5	2	3
EFL69	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	4	3	2	1	4	5	5	1	2	3	4	2	2	2	4	2
EFL70	2	1	3	2	4	2	4	2	1	3	1	1	3	4	4	2	4	3	3	3	2	4	2	3
EFL71	1	1	5	1	4	5	4	4	5	4	1	1	5	5	5	1	4	2	5	5	2	5	5	5
EFL72	3	2	5	3	4	4	2	1	2	5	2	1	5	3	4	1	4	3	3	5	1	5	4	2
EFL73	4	2	4	3	4	5	2	4	4	2	1	1	2	4	5	2	4	3	4	4	2	4	2	3
EFL74	2	1	4	4	4	2	4	2	2	5	1	1	2	2	5	1	5	2	2	4	4	3	4	2
EFL75	4	1	5	4	4	5	4	1	1	4	1	1	3	3	4	1	4	4	3	4	2	5	4	1
EFL76	2	1	1	1	3	5	4	3	5	4	1	1	1	4	5	1	5	3	3	4	1	3	1	3
EFL77	2	1	5	1	2	5	5	2	3	4	2	1	5	4	4	1	2	4	2	5	2	4	3	1
EFL78	2	1	4	1	3	3	2	1	3	4	3	1	4	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	2	4	4	2
EFL79	2	1	4	3	5	3	4	2	4	5	2	1	2	1	5	2	3	2	4	4	3	4	2	2
EFL80	2	3	4	4	3	5	3	2	4	3	4	5	4	3	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
EFL81	3	2	4	•	2	5	4	2	1	4	•	1	3	3	5	2	4	3	2	3	3	3	4	2
EFL82	4	2	5	1	3	3	2	2	4	5	1	1	4	4	3	3	5	3	4	4	3	5	2	2
EFL83	3	2	1	2	4	4	4	2	1	5	1	1	4	3	4	5	4	2	3	4	5	4	4	4
EFL84	5	3	4	4	4	2	4	3	5	2	4	1	4	2	5	•	5	1	4	5	2	4	1	3

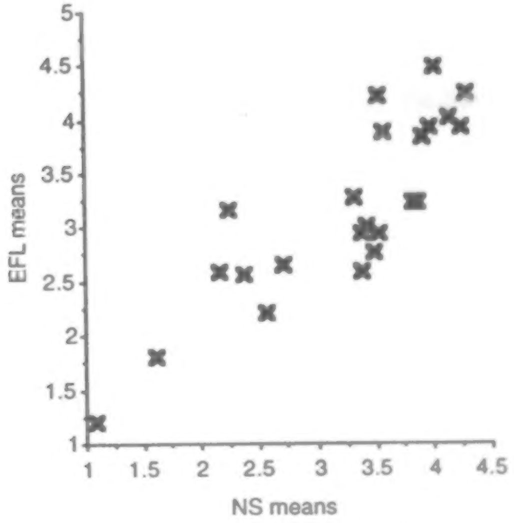
Subjects	I-A	I-B	I-C	I-D	I-E	I-F	II-A	II-B	II-C	II-D	II-E	II-F	III-A	III-B	III-C	III-D	III-E	III-F	IV-A	IV-B	IV-C	IV-D	IV-E	IV-F
EFL85	1	2	5	2	4	5	5	2	2	5	1	1	2	4	5	1	5	3	4	4	3	5	2	1
EFL86	1	1	2	4	5	5	4	5	1	5	2	1	2	3	5	4	5	4	5	5	2	4	4	1
EFL87	2	2	4	2	4	5	5	2	3	2	3	1	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	3
EFL88	3	4	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	3	1	4	4	4	2	4	3	2	4	4	3	2	4
EFL89	2	2	4	3	4	3	5	4	3	5	2	1	1	2	4	4	4	2	4	5	2	3	4	4
EFL90	5	4	4	2	4	2	5	4	4	4	2	1	2	4	5	2	5	2	2	5	2	4	2	4
EFL91	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	1	5	1	1	4	5	5	1	4	3	2	2	3	2	4	1
EFL92	1	4	1	4	4	1	5	1	4	5	1	1	2	4	5	2	5	1	1	5	2	1	1	5
EFL93	4	3	5	2	4	4	4	2	4	5	1	1	2	4	4	1	5	1	4	5	3	3	2	2
EFL94	4	4	2	4	3	2	2	4	1	2	4	5	3	2	1	5	2	4	3	4	4	3	4	4
EFL95	2	3	2	4	4	2	2	4	5	1	2	1	3	5	5	2	4	3	3	4	2	2	3	4
EFL96	4	2	4	3	5	5	4	2	3	4	4	2	2	4	4	3	4	2	2	4	2	4	2	4
EFL97	4	3	2	1	3	5	5	1	1	4	1	1	5	3	4	1	4	2	4	3	2	3	2	2
EFL98	2	4	5	3	1	4	4	3	2	4	4	1	3	3	5	2	5	1	2	5	2	5	5	1
EFL99	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
EFL100	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	2	4	4	1	1	2	2	4	1	4	•	2	4	2	4	4	2
EFL101	3	3	4	2	4	5	3	4	2	4	1	5	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	5	2	2
EFL102	4	3	5	5	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	2	1	•	5	1	4	3	3	5	4	4	1	5
EFL103	4	4	3	4	4	5	4	4	2	5	1	1	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	2	3	2
EFL104	3	4	4	5	5	4	3	4	5	2	5	1	4	3	4	1	4	2	3	4	2	3	4	1
EFL105	4	5	2	5	5	2	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	4	2	5	1	4	5	1	2	5	4
EFL106	2	2	4	1	4	5	3	2	4	4	2	1	2	3	5	1	5	2	3	4	2	4	2	3
EFL107	3	5	4	3	4	4	4	2	5	4	4	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	5
EFL108	3	3	1	4	4	3	4	2	4	5	1	1	2	3	4	1	4	4	4	4	3	5	2	4
EFL109	4	5	2	5	5	2	4	4	2	4	1	1	1	2	5	1	5	2	1	1	1	5	5	2
EFL110	2	2	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	3	3	4	2	4	4	2
EFL111	2	4	2	4	4	•	4	4	4	4	•	2	1	2	5	2	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	2
EFL112	2	2	4	1	3	5	4	3	3	4	2	2	1	3	4	1	3	2	4	4	3	4	4	2
EFL113	4	4	4	4	3	5	5	3	4	4	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	2	4	4	3	4	2	4
EFL114	2	1	4	3	2	5	5	1	4	4	1	1	3	•	4	1	5	2	4	5	3	4	2	4
EFL115	2	4	5	1	4	5	2	2	2	5	1	1	4	1	4	3	5	2	3	5	2	5	3	4
EFL116	4	3	4	5	4	4	4	2	4	5	2	1	4	2	5	2	4	2	4	5	2	4	2	3
EFL117	4	4	5	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	2	5	2	4	3	5	5	5	5	2	4
EFL118	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	1	1	2	4	5	1	5	3	2	4	2	2	2	3
EFL119	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	1	5	1	1	4	1	5	3	5	3	1	4	1	5	1	1
EFL120	3	2	5	2	2	4	4	2	2	5	1	1	2	•	5	1	5	2	3	3	2	4	4	2
EFL121	3	1	5	3	3	4	5	3	2	5	1	1	3	•	4	2	5	3	3	5	1	3	4	1
EFL122	2	1	4	3	3	5	5	2	2	5	1	1	4	•	5	1	4	1	4	4	4	5	5	4
EFL123	2	1	4	3	2	3	1	1	4	4	2	1	1	3	4	2	5	3	4	5	3	4	2	•
EFL124	2	1	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	5	1	1	3	•	5	2	5	3	4	5	3	4	3	2
EFL125	2	4	3	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	5	1	2	2	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	3	2	5
EFL126	1	1	4	1	3	4	4	2	2	4	1	1	2	2	5	2	5	2	2	4	3	3	2	1

Appendix K

Correlation of NS and EFL Group Means on 24 Statements

Corr. Coeff. X: NS means Y: EFL means

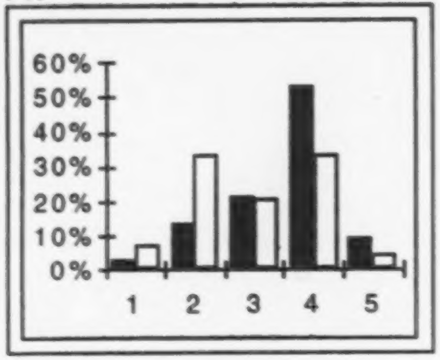
Count:	Covariance:	Correlation:	R-squared:
24	.675	.87	.758



■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

Appendix L
Frequency Distributions, Means, SD's, & Chi-Squares for Individual Statements

I-A

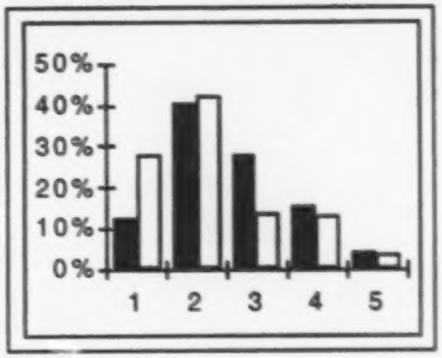


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	2.885%	7.2%
Rating= 2	13.462%	33.6%
Rating= 3	21.154%	20.8%
Rating= 4	52.885%	33.6%
Rating= 5	9.615%	4.8%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.529 EFL Mean= 2.952
NS SD= .945 EFL SD= 1.077

Chi-Square= 18.304 p= .0011**

I-B

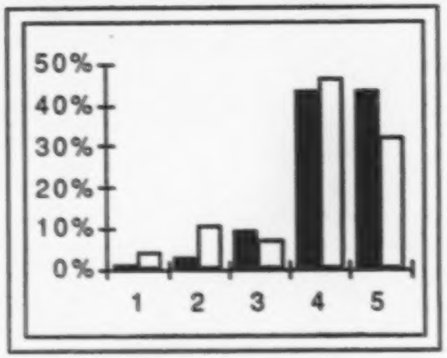


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	12.5%	28%
Rating= 2	40.385%	42.4%
Rating= 3	27.885%	13.6%
Rating= 4	15.385%	12.8%
Rating= 5	3.846%	3.2%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 2.577 EFL Mean= 2.208
NS SD= 1.021 EFL SD= 1.087

Chi-Square= 12.668 p=.013*

I-C



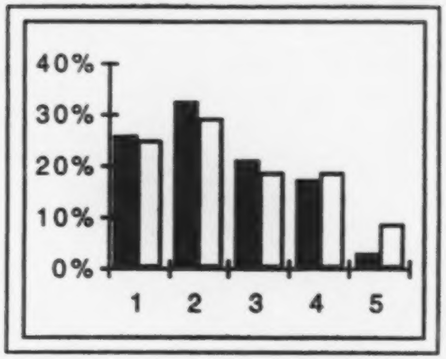
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	.962%	4%
Rating= 2	2.885%	10.4%
Rating= 3	9.615%	7.2%
Rating= 4	43.269%	46.4%
Rating= 5	43.269%	32%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 4.25 EFL Mean= 3.92
NS SD= .821 EFL SD= 1.082

Chi-Square= 9.055 p= .0597

■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

I-D

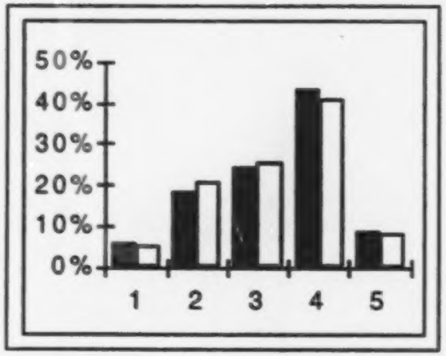


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	25.962%	25%
Rating= 2	32.692%	29.032%
Rating= 3	21.154%	18.548%
Rating= 4	17.308%	18.548%
Rating= 5	2.885%	8.871%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 2.385 EFL Mean= 2.573
NS SD= 1.135 EFL SD= 1.289

Chi-Square= 3.811 p= .4321

I-E

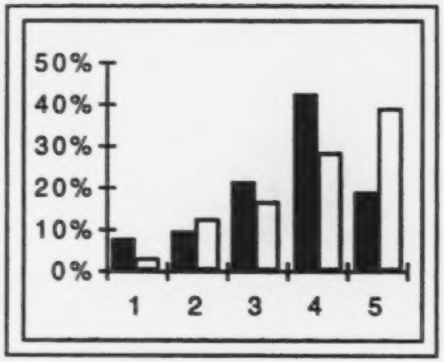


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	5.769%	4.918%
Rating= 2	18.269%	20.492%
Rating= 3	24.038%	25.41%
Rating= 4	43.269%	40.984%
Rating= 5	8.654%	8.197%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.308 EFL Mean= 3.27
NS SD= 1.053 EFL SD= 1.037

Chi-Square= .345 p= .9867

I-F



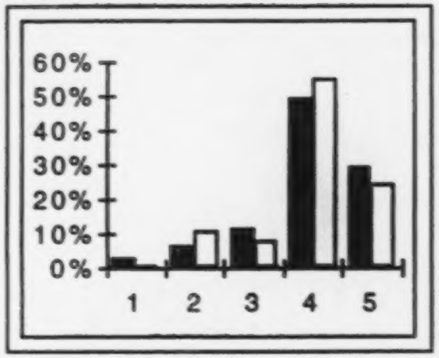
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	7.692%	3.333%
Rating= 2	9.615%	12.5%
Rating= 3	21.154%	16.667%
Rating= 4	42.308%	28.333%
Rating= 5	19.231%	39.167%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.558 EFL Mean= 3.875
NS SD= 1.139 EFL SD= 1.164

Chi-Square= 13.517 p= .009*

■ NS (n=106)
□ EFL (n=126)

II-A

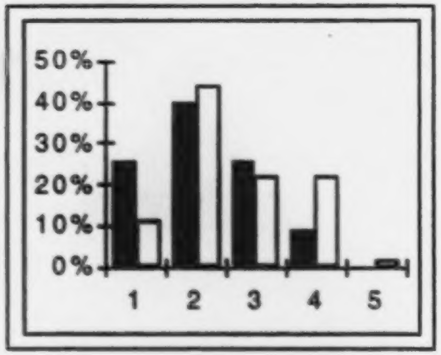


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	2.857%	.8%
Rating= 2	6.667%	11.2%
Rating= 3	11.429%	8%
Rating= 4	49.524%	55.2%
Rating= 5	29.524%	24.8%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.962 EFL Mean= 3.92
NS SD= .97 EFL SD= .921

Chi-Square= 4.196 p=.3801

II-B

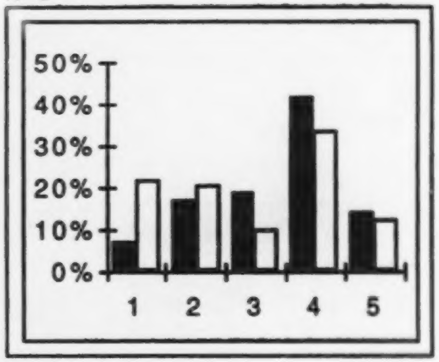


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	25.714%	11.2%
Rating= 2	40%	44%
Rating= 3	25.714%	21.6%
Rating= 4	8.571%	21.6%
Rating= 5	0%	1.6%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 2.171 EFL Mean= 2.584
NS SD= .914 EFL SD= 1.001

Chi-Square= 15.24 p= .0042*

II-C



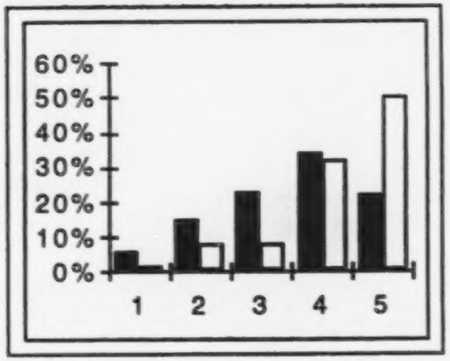
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	7.619%	21.774%
Rating= 2	17.143%	20.968%
Rating= 3	19.048%	10.484%
Rating= 4	41.905%	33.871%
Rating= 5	14.286%	12.903%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.381 EFL Mean= 2.952
NS SD= 1.155 EFL SD= 1.396

Chi-Square= 11.838 p= .0186*

■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

II-D

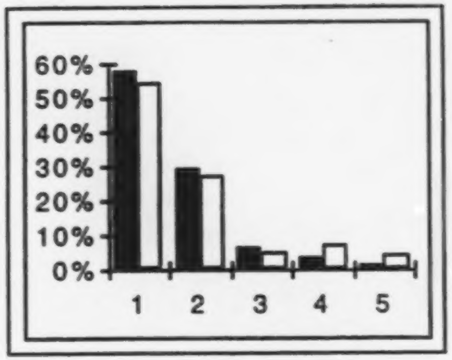


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	5.714%	1.6%
Rating= 2	15.238%	8%
Rating= 3	22.857%	8%
Rating= 4	34.286%	32%
Rating= 5	21.905%	50.4%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.514 EFL Mean= 4.216
NS SD= 1.161 EFL SD= 1.005

Chi-Square= 26.425 p= .0001***

II-E

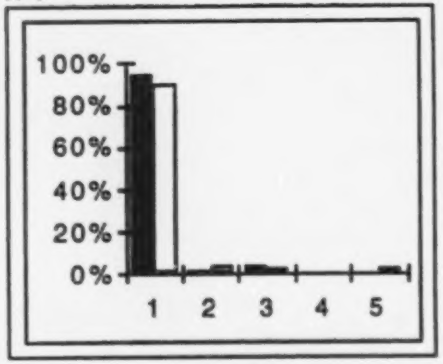


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	58.095%	54.472%
Rating= 2	29.524%	27.642%
Rating= 3	6.667%	5.691%
Rating= 4	3.81%	7.317%
Rating= 5	1.905%	4.878%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 1.619 EFL Mean= 1.805
NS SD= .913 EFL SD= 1.143

Chi-Square= 2.94 p= .5679

II-F



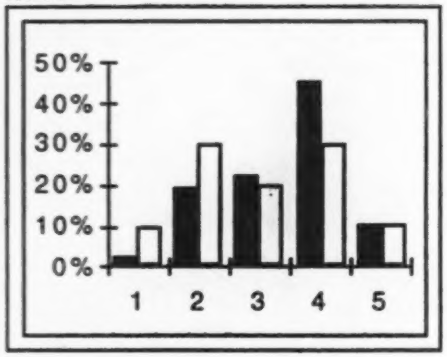
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	94.286%	90.323%
Rating= 2	1.905%	4.032%
Rating= 3	3.81%	3.226%
Rating= 4	0%	0%
Rating= 5	0%	2.419%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 1.095 EFL Mean= 1.202
NS SD= .405 EFL SD= .721

Chi-Square= 3.535 p= .3163

■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

III-A

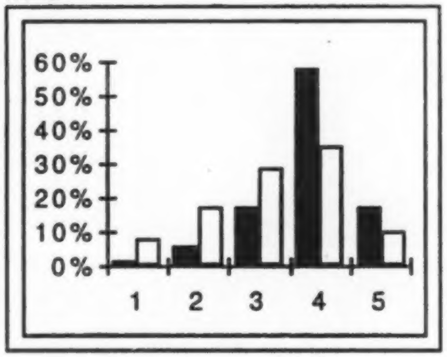


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	2.885%	9.677%
Rating= 2	19.231%	29.839%
Rating= 3	22.115%	20.161%
Rating= 4	45.192%	29.839%
Rating= 5	10.577%	10.484%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.413 EFL Mean= 3.016
NS SD= 1.011 EFL SD= 1.189

Chi-Square= 10.235 p= .0366*

III-B

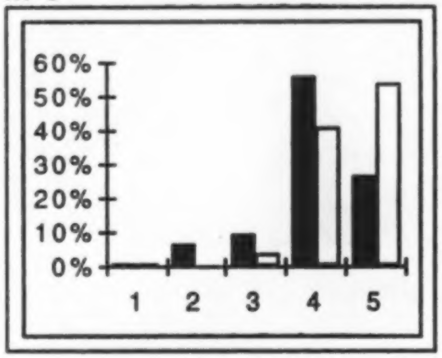


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	1.923%	7.895%
Rating= 2	5.769%	17.544%
Rating= 3	17.308%	28.947%
Rating= 4	57.692%	35.088%
Rating= 5	17.308%	10.526%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.827 EFL Mean= 3.228
NS SD= .853 EFL SD= 1.105

Chi-Square= 21.191 p= .0003***

III-C



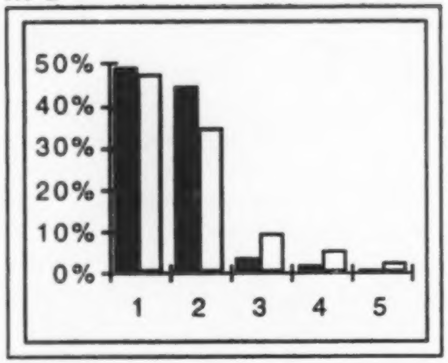
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	.962%	.806%
Rating= 2	6.731%	0%
Rating= 3	9.615%	4.032%
Rating= 4	55.769%	41.129%
Rating= 5	26.923%	54.032%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 4.01 EFL Mean= 4.476
NS SD= .853 EFL SD= .656

Chi-Square= 23.554 p= .0001***

■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

III-D

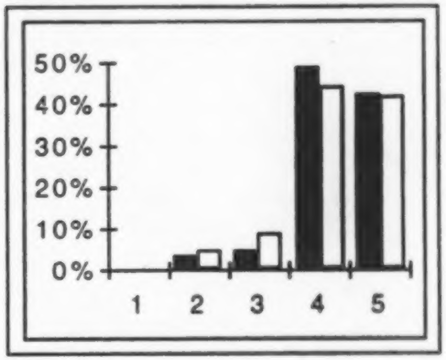


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	49.038%	47.541%
Rating= 2	44.231%	34.426%
Rating= 3	3.846%	9.836%
Rating= 4	1.923%	5.738%
Rating= 5	.962%	2.459%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 1.615 EFL Mean= 1.811
NS SD= .741 EFL SD= .999

Chi-Square= 7.02 p= .1348

III-E

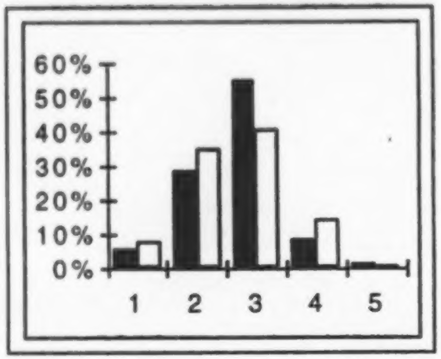


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	0%	0%
Rating= 2	3.846%	4.839%
Rating= 3	4.808%	8.871%
Rating= 4	49.038%	44.355%
Rating= 5	42.308%	41.935%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 4.298 EFL Mean= 4.234
NS SD= .736 EFL SD= .808

Chi-Square= 1.727 p= .6311

III-F



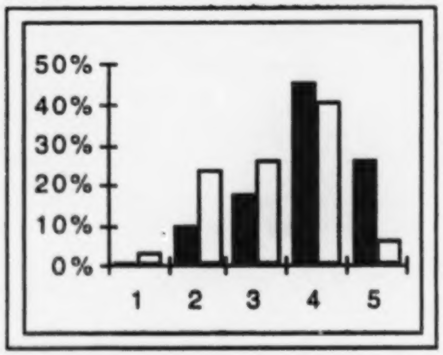
	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	5.769%	8.197%
Rating= 2	28.846%	35.246%
Rating= 3	54.808%	40.984%
Rating= 4	8.654%	14.754%
Rating= 5	1.923%	.82%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 2.721 EFL Mean= 2.648
NS SD= .782 EFL SD= .862

Chi-Square= 5.709 p= .222

■ NS (n=106)
☐ EFL (n=126)

IV-A

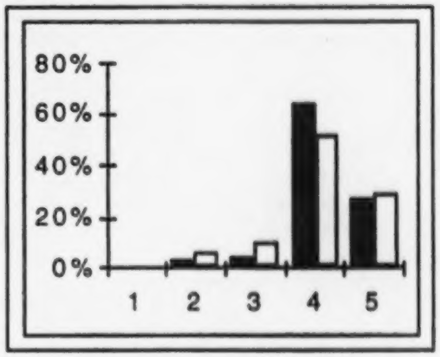


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	.971%	3.175%
Rating= 2	9.709%	23.81%
Rating= 3	17.476%	26.19%
Rating= 4	45.631%	40.476%
Rating= 5	26.214%	6.349%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.864 EFL Mean= 3.23
NS SD= .95 EFL SD= .989

Chi-Square= 24.628 p= .0001***

IV-B

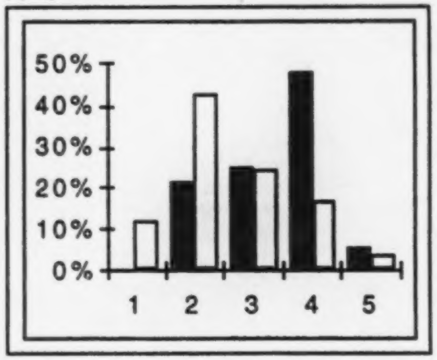


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	0%	.794%
Rating= 2	3.883%	7.143%
Rating= 3	4.854%	11.111%
Rating= 4	64.078%	51.587%
Rating= 5	27.184%	29.365%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 4.146 EFL Mean= 4.016
NS SD= .677 EFL SD= .876

Chi-Square= 6.192 p= .1852

IV-C

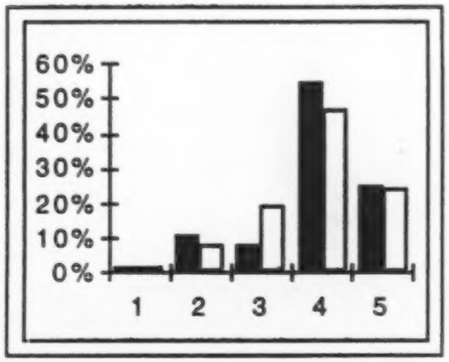


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	0%	12%
Rating= 2	21.154%	42.4%
Rating= 3	25%	24.8%
Rating= 4	48.077%	16.8%
Rating= 5	5.769%	4%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.385 EFL Mean= 2.584
NS SD= .885 EFL SD= 1.033

Chi-Square= 38.587 p= .0001***

IV-D

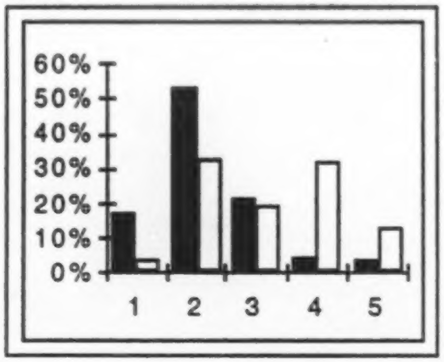


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	1.942%	1.587%
Rating= 2	10.68%	7.937%
Rating= 3	7.767%	19.048%
Rating= 4	54.369%	46.825%
Rating= 5	25.243%	24.603%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.903 EFL Mean= 3.849
NS SD= .965 EFL SD= .939

Chi-Square= 6.318 p= .1766

IV-E

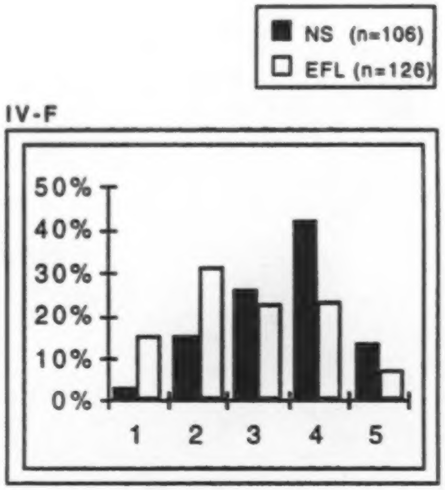


	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	17.308%	3.968%
Rating= 2	52.885%	32.54%
Rating= 3	21.154%	19.048%
Rating= 4	4.808%	31.746%
Rating= 5	3.846%	12.698%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 2.25 EFL Mean= 3.167
NS SD= .932 EFL SD= 1.137

Chi-Square= 42.18 p= .0001***

IV-F



	NS	EFL
Rating= 1	2.885%	15.323%
Rating= 2	15.385%	31.452%
Rating= 3	25.962%	22.581%
Rating= 4	42.308%	23.387%
Rating= 5	13.462%	7.258%
Totals:	100%	100%

NS Mean= 3.481 EFL Mean= 2.758
NS SD= 1.005 EFL SD= 1.185

Chi-Square= 23.871 p= .0001***

Appendix M
NS/ EFL Comparison: Chi-Squares, Means, & SD's

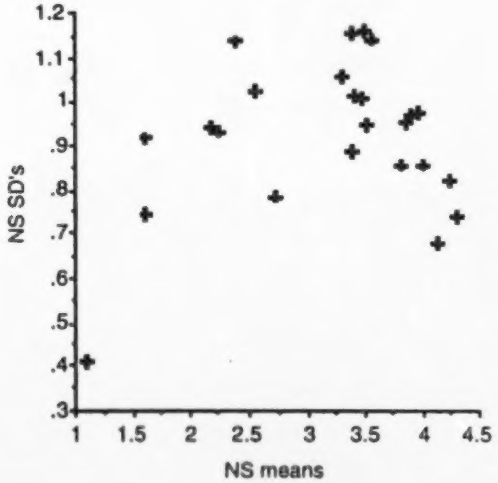
Statements	Chi-Square Analysis	NS			EFL			NS/EFL
		Mean	Mean Rank	SD	Mean	Mean Rank	SD	Mean Rank Diff.
I-A	p=.0011**	3.529	10	0.945	2.952	14 / 15	1.077	4
I-B	p=.013*	2.577	18	1.021	2.208	21	1.087	3
I-C	p=.0597	4.250	2	0.821	3.920	5 / 6	1.082	3
I-D	p=.4321	2.385	19	1.135	2.573	20	1.289	1
I-E	p=.9867	3.308	16	1.053	3.270	9	1.037	7
I-F	p=.009*	3.558	9	1.139	3.875	7	1.164	2
II-A	p=.3801	3.962	5	0.970	3.920	5 / 6	0.921	0
II-B	p=.0042**	2.171	21	0.914	2.584	18 / 19	1.001	2
II-C	p=.0186*	3.381	15	1.155	2.952	14 / 15	1.396	1
II-D	p=.0001***	3.514	11	1.161	4.216	3	1.005	8
II-E	p=.5679	1.619	22	0.913	1.805	23	1.143	1
II-F	p=.3163	1.095	24	0.405	1.202	24	0.721	0
III-A	p=.0366*	3.413	13	1.011	3.016	13	1.189	0
III-B	p=.0003***	3.827	8	0.853	3.228	11	1.105	3
III-C	p=.0001***	4.010	4	0.853	4.476	1	0.656	3
III-D	p=.1348	1.615	23	0.741	1.811	22	0.999	1
III-E	p=.6311	4.298	1	0.736	4.234	2	0.808	1
III-F	p=.222	2.721	17	0.782	2.648	17	0.862	0
IV-A	p=.0001***	3.864	7	0.950	3.230	10	0.989	3
IV-B	p=.1852	4.146	3	0.677	4.016	4	0.876	1
IV-C	p=.0001***	3.385	14	0.885	2.584	18 / 19	1.033	4
IV-D	p=.1766	3.903	6	0.965	3.849	8	0.939	2
IV-E	p=.0001***	2.250	20	0.932	3.167	12	1.137	8
IV-F	p=.0001***	3.481	12	1.005	2.758	16	1.185	4
Average		3.178		0.918	3.104		1.029	

Appendix N

Mean & SD Correlations for NS & EFL Groups

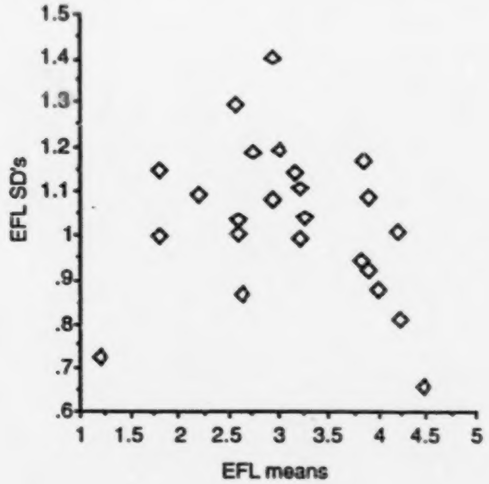
Corr. Coeff. X: NS means Y: NS SD's

Count:	Covariance:	Correlation:	R-squared:
24	.039	.246	.06



Corr. Coeff. X: EFL means Y: EFL SD's

Count:	Covariance:	Correlation:	R-squared:
24	-.03	-.203	.041



CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION

1996	Ph.D., Language Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
1991	M.A., Applied Linguistics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
1989	B.A., English, Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1996 -	Assistant Professor, English Dept., Southeast Missouri State University; teaching applied linguistics courses, TESOL teacher training, involved in grant projects.
1992 - 1996	Associate Instructor, Student Academic Center, Language Education Dept.; Indiana University; teaching "Managing Resource for Learning" at undergraduate level
1992- 1995	Research Assistant for Dr. Mikulecky, Chair, Language Education Dept., Indiana University; general research areas included family literacy, reading/writing/ESL in workplace literacy programs
1993	Assisting Dr. Nyikos in developing graduate topical seminar on Material Development for Foreign Language Teaching, Language Education Dept., Indiana University
1992	Developing and Teaching "Introduction to Learning in an American University" for international students in Indiana University
1992	Research Assistant for Dr. Nyikos, Foreign Language Program, Language Education Dept., Indiana University; conducting ESL Teacher Needs Assessment Project (ETNAP)
1991	ESL Instructor, English Evening Program, Indiana University Teaching ESL at the beginning and intermediate levels; learner interview, placement & evaluation; curriculum and material development
1989	EFL Instructor, ELSI Language Institute, Taipei, Taiwan; teaching EFL at all levels
1989	Mandarin Chinese Instructor, Chinese Studies Program, Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan; teaching beginning & advanced Mandarin Chinese to American students

1989	Mandarin Chinese Instructor, Chinese Language School of American Institute in Taiwan; teaching advanced Mandarin Chinese to American Diplomats

TEACHING INTERESTS

Second language acquisition, sociocultural pragmatics, foreign language research methods, TESOL resources and material development, ESL/EFL, Mandarin Chinese, teacher training, cooperative language learning, cultural immersion for language learning, college learning skills, critical thinking and reasoning.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Second/foreign language acquisition, pragmatics development and acquisition, culture and literature, speech acts, sociocultural pragmatics, business pragmatics, cross-cultural communication, language for specific purposes (LSP), schema theories.

WORKSHOPS & ACADEMIC SERVICE

Delivering foreign language teaching workshop
Developing and delivering topical workshops on
- Learning Foreign Languages
- Critical Thinking
- Time Management

Non-Credit academic consultation on learning skills and resources

ACADEMIC HONORS

Phi Tau Phi Scholastic Honor Society
Achasa Beechler Scholarship, School of Education, Indiana University

PAPERS PRESENTED

Chen, H. J. (1994, November). *Native-speakers' intuition: Rating pragmatic appropriateness.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Atlanta, GA.

Chen, H. J. (1995, November). *Is honesty the best* pragmatic *policy? -- Investigating metapragmatics.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Anaheim, CA.

Chen, H. J., Cramer, P., & Kojima, T. (1994, November). *Japanese and American business pragmatics.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Atlanta, GA.

Chen, H. J., Cramer, P., & Kojima, T. (1995, April). *Japanese and American cross-cultural business pragmatics: A study.* Paper presented at the annual conference on Languages and Communication for World Business and the Professions, Ypsilanti, MI.

Chen, H. J., Cramer, P., & Kojima, T. (1995, November). *Disagreeing strategies -- Japan-US cross cultural communication.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Anaheim, CA.